



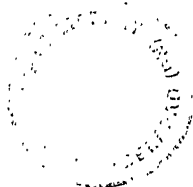
LUDWIG OF BAVARIA, 1816.

Portrait by J. K. Stieler.

LUDWIG I OF BAVARIA

BY
COUNT CORTI

Translated by
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PREFACE

Non ridere, non lugere, neque detestari, sed intelligere.

My researches in connection with the figure of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria, by birth a Duchess in Bavaria (*Herzogin in Bayern*) took me often to that country and to its beautiful capital on the Isar, and thus gave me an opportunity of becoming more closely acquainted with Munich and its world. At every step, in the streets and museums, in the King's palace, in the buildings, collections, and works of art, the name of King Ludwig I stood out clearly. I wandered with admiration through the Ludwigstrasse, with delight through the Pinakotheks and the Glyptothek, with curiosity through the *Schönheitgalerie*. I remembered how Bavaria, in the time of Napoleon, had fought side by side with the Emperor of the French, and how only one man, Crown Prince Ludwig, had opposed this policy from the beginning. A man who dared to resist Napoleon must have been anything but a nonentity. A Prince who so beautified the town, who gathered together there the most wonderful works of art from all corners of the world, who showed such enthusiastic appreciation for beauty in every form, must, I told myself, have had a wonderfully colourful existence. And out of this arose my decision to draw a picture of the character of this man.

I have endeavoured, by ignoring the less significant matters of internal politics, to emphasize the human personality of the King. The Monarch had wished that such a description of his life should be given, and had himself actually worked on it in his lifetime. He had worked upon the principle that nothing should be hidden or omitted: 'One must learn to know the whole person by reading his memoirs,'¹ he had declared. He could never forgive a certain Countess L. for having destroyed—because of the often very delicate nature of their contents—ten volumes of memoirs in manuscript which she had inherited, dating from the time of the Elector Karl Theodor. Professor Johann Nepomuk Sepp described how the King sprang up furiously from his writing-table on hearing of this 'outrage on contemporary history'. The King took particular care that absolutely nothing that he had

¹ Karl Theodor Heigel, *Ludwig I. König von Bayern*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 379.

written should be destroyed. The way in which everything was collected and preserved was quite exemplary, and often question and answer were together because Ludwig, on the death of a notable person with whom he had been in correspondence, asked for the return of his letters for the archives. The vast and often confidential correspondence of the King, which was at my disposal for this work, is in itself a sort of diary.

When speaking of King Ludwig I one so often hears exclaimed: 'Oh, yes, that is the King of Lola Montez.' This is because the more superficial literature has dealt chiefly with that episode in the King's life, freely embellished and exaggerated in every way. However, this single period must not be taken by itself and treated separately because it cannot possibly be understood unless the whole development of the King and his attitude to women has previously been examined. It must above all be taken into account that Ludwig I lived in a time of romanticism and sentimentality, and the King and his attitude to women cannot be judged by present-day standards—a point which I would specially like to stress.

My main sources of information are the treasures of the personal archives of the Royal House in Munich, to which, thanks to the generosity of Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, I was allowed unlimited access. Many thousands of documents were examined. Moreover, in London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna I saw the reports of former Ministers to Munich. To this end numerous State and private archives were searched.

By using all these sources I have attempted to give a character study of that outstanding figure on the Royal Throne of Bavaria, putting in the light and shade as the documents dictated. I have attempted to do this objectively and without prejudice, but nevertheless with respect towards the figure of the Monarch who was, to quote Goethe's words, 'the remarkable and versatile individual on the Throne' and who, in spite of his originality, was indeed every inch a man. It was of this King that Wilhelm von Kaulbach aptly remarked that he '*Schwung hatte wie keiner*' (possessed greater *verve* than any other man). It is thus that the ruler is to reappear to our imagination. Richard Wagner said of him¹: 'The second (King of Bavaria) realized still more clearly the source of real German grandeur and was the first German

¹ Correspondence between King Ludwig II and Richard Wagner. Note in Richard Wagner's diary dated 15th September, 1865 (IV, II).

Prince to give to German plastic Art its first inspiration and home.'

* * * * *

I would like to express my most sincere and heartfelt thanks to all those who so generously and kindly assisted me in my work. I have honestly endeavoured, not only to do justice to the letter and the spirit of the material at my disposal but also to the quotation with which this foreword opens: 'Neither to laugh nor to lament nor to hate, but to understand.'

* * * * *

It is my hope that this work, upon which I have been engaged for three years, may be received in the spirit in which it is submitted, as a serious and independent contribution to the history of King Ludwig I, whose chief characteristics, love for his nation, for Art, and for womanly beauty, I have here endeavoured to portray.

THE AUTHOR.

VELDEN, AUSTRIA.
August, 1937.

EARLY YOUTH

TUMULT OF REVOLUTION AND WAR, 1786-1803

In the second half of the eighteenth century, before the outbreak of the French Revolution, German-speaking lands were divided into larger or smaller self-governing principalities. Princes with lesser or greater powers, with varying titles, possessions, and riches, ruled over them; Kings, Electors, Dukes, and others jealously guarded their sovereign rights and independence. In this way they kept the Holy Roman Empire—of which Voltaire ironically said that it was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire—in a continual state of internal dissension and weakness which alone made possible the events of the later Napoleonic times.

Sometimes one of these States, such as Austria or Prussia, became predominant because of the outstanding ability of a ruler, statesman, or general; other States, like the Electorate of Bavaria, which connected the East with the West, played a special part on account of their geographical position. Here, after ruling for centuries both on the north and south of the upper Danube, the direct line of the ruling House of Wittelsbach—whose name had come from the ancestral castle in Upper Bavaria—was in danger of becoming extinct. The heirs belonged to collateral branches of the family. First in succession came the Palatinate branch, whose territory lay on either side of the Rhine at Mannheim and nowhere adjoined the Duchy of Bavaria. For at the end of the eighteenth century the lands of princely families were inherited by the nearest relatives as though they were private property or a valuable trinket. When there were several heirs there was no scruple about dividing up the territory. This custom had brought much misfortune to Bavaria and, in addition, owing to historical developments, Bavaria, which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had extended as far as Bozen in the south and the Enns in the east, now only reached to the northern chain of the Alps and to the Inn. The small country adjoining it, formerly known as the Ostmark, which had been Bavarian until 976, had meantime become part of the Habsburg-Austrian possessions

and had taken with it large tracts of country which had once been Bavarian—the area between the Enns and the Inn and also Salzburg and the Tyrol.

Dating back to those early days, a feeling of national homogeneity existed between the inhabitants of these provinces. This was evident to the various rulers, but every dynasty wished to increase the power of its House and to annex territory belonging to others. This led to the ancient rivalry between the Houses of Austria and Wittelsbach, which went on through the centuries. Every time Vienna menaced Bavaria the House of Wittelsbach sought support and protection from Prussia or even from France.

Austria's prospects seemed to improve when, in 1777, the direct line of the Wittelsbachs became extinct and the succession passed to Karl Theodor, the Elector Palatine. This man showed artistic and scientific leanings, presented the town of Munich with a magnificent picture gallery, a beautiful Court library, and the lovely *Englischen Garten*; but, although Elector of Bavaria, he always remained an easy-going son of the Palatinate. He cherished secret hopes that his consumptive wife would die and that he would be able to marry again and have a legal heir who could succeed him as Elector. This would enable him to deprive the next heir, the Duke of Zweibrücken, who belonged to a second collateral branch of the Bavarian House, of the succession. His was a minute country on the left bank of the Rhine near Frankfurt, forming a half-circle round Saarbrücken, and quite unconnected with Bavaria. It may be imagined how antagonistic were Duke Karl August, the ruler of Zweibrücken, and his younger brother Maximilian—then serving as a French officer at Strasbourg—to Vienna's desire for amalgamation, and how greatly they feared that Karl Theodor would play into Austrian hands. They were well aware that Count von Lehrbach, the Austrian Minister in Munich, was doing his utmost to persuade the Elector to throw in his lot with Austria. Like the Elector, the diplomat also hoped for the early decease of the invalid Electress, intending, after her death, to arrange the marriage of the Elector with an Austrian Archduchess. Karl Theodor and the Austrian Minister were in complete agreement on this point.

The Dukes of Zweibrücken watched events in Munich with great distrust. They had good sources of information in the capital, particularly in that party which strongly opposed the amalgamation with Austria, and which for that reason took sides

with the legal Zweibrücken heirs although they had scarcely seen them. The ruling Duke Karl August, who was childless, lived in the beautiful Castle of Karlsberg. If ever he should succeed as ruler of Bavaria his brother, the Count Palatine, would be the future heir. This Prince, thirty years of age in 1786, a good-looking man, a favourite with women and very good company, was the political centre of the opposition of the Zweibrücken Court to Austria's covetous aspirations towards Bavaria. But he was not on the best of terms with his brother, the ruling Duke, and for that reason did not wish to live as a mere satellite in the capital of this tiny country with its fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants. He was a soldier, and the army of the Duchy numbered 1,200 men all told. This was not a large sphere of action for an ambitious and energetic man. But a large and powerful France was at hand and desired the friendship of the small German States bordering on Alsace, considering it an advantage to attract the rulers of these States to France, that they might there become imbued with French interests.

Thus Maximilian had become Colonel of King Louis XVI's regiment which was stationed in Strasbourg. He believed France to be the principal champion of his family's succession, in opposition to the wishes of the Austrian Imperial Court. In this connection the King of Prussia occupied only a secondary place. Maximilian often expressed himself publicly in this sense.¹

In December, 1785, Maximilian married the Princess Wilhelmine Auguste of Hesse-Darmstadt, whose mother, the Countess Marie Leiningen, was famous in her native Palatinate for her buoyant charm and sparkling *joie de vivre*. Nevertheless, this lady had brought up her daughter in a strictly old-fashioned manner and prepared her to be a good wife and mother. The new Countess Palatine loved her husband above everything in the world and would have been the most perfect wife had she not, unfortunately, had a very delicate lung. Marie Antoinette, the wife of Louis XVI, was very fond of her; they were in constant correspondence and the Queen assured the Countess in nearly every letter of her unchanging friendship, which would end only with her life.² Wilhelmine Auguste was often a guest at the Court in Paris, but her habits were simple and her tastes normal, and she often

¹ Graf Lehrbach to Fürst Kaunitz, 11th August, 1786. State Archives, Vienna.

² Queen Marie Antoinette to the Countess Palatine Wilhelmine Auguste of Zweibrücken. Original undated. Munich. *Hausarchiv* (in future referred to as H.A.).

found it difficult to accommodate herself to the wild and dissolute life in the French capital. 'Since I have been in this country,' the Countess wrote home,¹ 'I have not once beheld my favourite spectacle—the rising or the setting sun. Here day is turned into night and night into day. What with visits, dinners, parties, theatres, clothes, games of hazard and dancing till late at night, time flies until suddenly one's life has passed without a thought of God, of one's neighbours, one's duties, conscience or religion. . . . I thank God daily that I was born in another country. I would not live here for anything in the world.' On the other hand, Wilhelmine Auguste was charmed with Marie Antoinette: 'I have had the good fortune to see the Queen very often; she is beautiful, always in good spirits and, without exception, kind and affable to everyone but, I may add, particularly to us. Her greatest pleasure is to make others happy, to give pleasure to all around her and to brush aside all stiff Court customs. I can assure you . . . that I often forget that we are in the presence of a queen. . . .'

On one occasion in Paris the Countess Palatine met the American Statesman and writer, Benjamin Franklin, one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence of 4th July, 1776, at that time Ambassador of the United States to France, who was also a great physicist and the inventor of the lightning conductor. In the life of the Paris Court this democrat of humble origin—he was the seventeenth child of a soap boiler—played a remarkable rôle. He was very much interested in the Countess, and she liked everything about this man of seventy-seven except that, on the occasion of her visit and without further preamble, he gave this beautiful young woman a hearty kiss; this she considered 'too democratic', and it embarrassed her greatly.

The Countess Palatine was a thorn in the flesh to Karl Theodor in Munich. He was persistent in his desire to exclude the Zweibrücken line from the succession to the Throne of Bavaria. He was, therefore, far from pleased when a year later, in August, 1786, the news came that on the 25th of that month a sturdy, healthy prince had been born to the Count Palatine Maximilian at the Zweibrücken Court in Strasbourg, and therefore on French soil. It was very significant that King Louis of France stood godfather to the child, who was given his name, and bestowed

¹ Countess Palatine Wilhelmine Auguste to her teacher, Pastor Lichthammer, in Darmstadt. Paris, 11th June, 1783. Munich H.A.

upon him as christening present a fine piece of jewellery set in diamonds, also a commission as Colonel in the French army with a yearly income of 12,000 pounds. As both the Duke of Zweibrücken and the Elector in Munich were childless, this young father and his son became of importance to France on account of their prospects of succession to the Throne of Bavaria, and from that moment they were even more flattered and marked out for distinction. The Court at Vienna and its Minister in Munich were rather less pleased about the event. The Electress was still alive, and yet her husband and the Austrian representative spoke in unmistakable terms, even though in whispers, of new marriage plans. Lehrbach as well as the Court Physician was anxious lest the 'immoderate liking for women shown by the Elector', who in 1786 was sixty-three years old, should bring on a 'stroke caused by enervation', which would upset all his plans.¹

None of these political considerations, however, could interfere with the happiness of little Ludwig's mother in Strasbourg. 'From the moment he saw the light of day,' she wrote enthusiastically,² 'I lost all pain, and joy and delight took its place. I was always the happiest of daughters and now I am the happiest of wives and mothers.'

A few days after the birth of the Prince his father appeared on the parade ground in Strasbourg, where he found his regiment drawn up on parade. At that time a soldier without a beard was unthinkable, but when the Count Palatine inspected the troops—every man was clean-shaven! Taken aback, he turned to the adjutant: 'Good heavens! What is the meaning of this? What have the fellows done with their beards?' Whereupon the senior non-commissioned officer stepped forward with a beautifully embroidered little pillow in his hands. He presented it to the astonished Count and asked him to accept the pillow as a birthday present from the whole regiment for the little Prince: the men had given up their male adornment, their beards, to stuff the pillow for the new-born child. Count Palatine Maximilian stepped back a couple of paces—it was a touching thought, even if rather unappetizing—then he turned to the regiment: 'Listen, men, this time it is all right and I thank you; but I hope that my marriage will be blessed with other children too, so next time don't play any

¹ Lehrbach to Kaunitz, Munich, 31st March, 1786. Vienna State Archives (in future referred to as Vienna St.A.)

² Countess Palatine Wilhelmine Auguste of Zweibrücken to her teacher, Pastor Lichthammer, in Darmstadt, Strasbourg, 8th November, 1786. Munich H.A.

more jokes, otherwise no grenadier will ever be able to grow a decent beard again.'¹

Little Ludwig was now given as nurse Frau Luise Weyland, who looked after him with such an exaggerated love and devotion until his seventh year that it would not be untrue to say that he was pampered.

About this time Ludwig's father took into his service a certain Freiherr Maximilian Joseph von Montgelas, member of an aristocratic family of French Savoy. Montgelas had been educated in France and had then been employed in Munich at the Court of Karl Theodor. There he had joined the so-called Illuminati, a society which, standing for a more liberal policy than the form of government at that time universal in Europe, where all decisions were in the hands of the Princes, had gathered all the dissatisfied within its ranks. As was natural in view of his family, education, and origin, Montgelas strengthened the pro-French tendencies of his new master.

At the end of January, 1789, Ludwig's mother was again in Paris on a visit to Marie Antoinette. The '*tourbillon*' there, the loose morals in love and in play, in business and in politics, surged round the Countess without drawing her into the whirlpool.

In common with the whole of the French Court the Count Palatine and his wife had no suspicions of the volcano which was suddenly to break out and involve the whole of France and its capital in fire and smoke. The storming of the Bastille on 14th July, 1789, started the *danse macabre* of the overwhelming horrors of the French Revolution. After the fall of the former rulers a constantly changing succession of undisciplined, even mad, men were at the helm. This was followed by the disintegration of the army. One of the first regiments in the provinces to be affected was the Alsatian Regiment of Count Maximilian which, with the rest of the Strasbourg garrison, revolted against its officers, although up till that time it had had the reputation of being a highly disciplined body of men. When the Colonel tried to pacify the men he was abused and threatened almost to the extent of personal ill-treatment. He perceived with horror that authority was tottering, discipline and order breaking down. His first thought was to get his wife and child in safety to Darmstadt.

¹ This incident was afterwards several times confirmed in King Ludwig's own writing. In 1857 his daughter Alexandra sent her father a poem entitled *The Mattress*, by Theodor Drogisch of Leipzig, which described the episode.

Little three-year-old Ludwig did not understand what was happening around him, but clearly it was something terrible. At a moment's notice he had to leave all his toys, be bundled hastily into a carriage, deprived of the usual care and attention, and escape with his mother on an endless journey. By a strange coincidence young Metternich, then sixteen years old, also went through the rising in Strasbourg and had 'practical instruction' in a revolution, but with the difference of course that he retained far more definite recollections than little Ludwig, whose father was also obliged to escape from Strasbourg soon after. Of what use was it that the King, in November, 1789, appointed him Lieutenant-General and Commander of the troops in Alsace? That had no longer any meaning. To crown everything, Ludwig developed smallpox in Darmstadt and for eleven days lay between life and death. His father gave up hope, but from the first moment his mother felt sure that they would save him, and this indeed was the case, although the scars disfigured him for life.

Now began an anxious time for Maximilian and his wife, a time of uncertain wandering and harassing financial cares. There was no question of returning to Alsace. 'My God!' wrote the Countess, little dreaming that an epoch of twenty-five years of revolution and war had but begun: 'My God! when will peace return?'

Events in France had made a very deep impression upon Karl Theodor. He was, as Lehrbach said, 'an extremely timid person,'¹ and they had disturbed his comfortable life with his successive mistresses and interfered with the provision made for his numerous illegitimate children—he had placed some eighteen to twenty million gulden in French banks which now crashed one after the other. Furthermore, there was no guarantee that the troubles would not spread to the German States, the Illuminati were again becoming very active in Bavaria, and the revolution in France was assuming ever more threatening proportions.

In June, 1791, Louis XVI and his family tried to escape from Paris. The attempt was believed to have succeeded, when news arrived that the Royal Family had been stopped and brought back to Paris.

In France things were now in a state of frenzy. The rulers of Paris declared war on the newly-elected Holy Roman Emperor, Francis II, because they feared that refugees would induce foreign powers to interfere in the internal affairs of France. The

¹ *Graf Lehrbach to Fürst Kaunitz, Munich, 12th August, 1789. Vienna St.A.*

outbreak of hostilities in April, 1792, was followed by the storming of the Tuileries, the abolition of the Royal Prerogative, the arrest of the Royal Family, and the September murders in the prisons. War was carried to the Rhine, and the fate of the little Duchy of Zweibrücken was thereby sealed. The republican armies of France no longer had any consideration for princes or provinces, least of all for those closely connected with the French Royal House.

One morning in February, 1793, a peasant arrived breathless at the castle of Karlsberg in Zweibrücken, and reported the imminent arrival of the French cavalry. Six hundred Chevaux-legers stormed up one side of the hill and the Duke had scarcely time to gallop his four carriages down the other side. The French disarmed the Zweibrücken 'Army', and confiscated all money and valuables. Little Ludwig's uncle, the reigning Prince, was now a fugitive and beggar like his brother and more or less at the mercy of the Elector in Munich.

On 21st February, 1793, the French Revolution crowned its misdeeds by the execution of King Louis XVI. This action had a paralysing effect on the whole world. The terrible fate of his godfather could not be kept secret from Maximilian's seven-year-old son. The appalling murder in Paris, and particularly the endeavours of the revolutionaries there to spread their subversive ideas in the adjoining countries, led to the formation of a powerful confederation, headed by England, against Republican France. The war which followed was not—and this is often the case with coalition wars—waged concertedly or with a common objective.

The homeless wanderer, Count Palatine Maximilian of Zweibrücken, was horrified at events in France. He loved the country, and felt himself indebted to the Royal Family from whom he had received nothing but kindness during their lifetime. For this reason he was the more furious with the bestial rulers in power at that time. Little Ludwig, however, who on all sides heard only the most dreadful things about France, was from his earliest days filled with abhorrence and hatred of that country, for he lacked the favourable impressions which his father had gained in earlier years. Yet Count Maximilian in particular flew into a passion when there was any talk of an exchange of Bavaria or of bartering it in negotiations with Austria.

On 16th October, 1793, the unhappy Queen, Marie Antoinette, died on the scaffold. The news shook little Ludwig's mother

profoundly and brought tears to her eyes. Sadly she described to her little son how kind, how charming this beautiful young Queen had always been and how often she had given her sweets and toys for herself and her little ones.

As a siege of Mannheim was feared, the family had again to take refuge in Darmstadt in January, 1794. One trouble followed another: in August, 1794, the Countess Palatine was again in Mannheim when the wife of Karl Theodor suddenly died of a stroke on 13th August. The event so long and anxiously awaited at the Court of the Elector and at the Austrian Legation in Munich had at last taken place. Without any delay negotiations were opened for a new marriage. Only three weeks later the seventy-year-old Elector announced that he was determined to marry again as soon as possible and that he found¹ the 'Archduchess Leopoldine, daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the most agreeable and suitable, particularly on account of her eighteen years'. The princess was naturally none too pleased at the thought of her aged suitor, but great pressure was brought to bear upon her and after some hesitation she accepted the Elector. The news did not make a very deep impression on the Zweibrücken brothers, who did not believe that the Elector could still hope for children. A very short time after the wedding there were signs of serious disagreements between the newly married couple. 'There is something amiss with the nuptial couch,' Lehrbach reported.

In the meantime the dramatic events in Paris and the First Coalition War continued. On the Seine terror and the tyranny of Robespierre held sway. The guillotine worked night and day until, on 28th July, Robespierre himself fell a victim to it, and a new Constitution took the place of conditions of Government which had been carried to absurdity. In the theatre of war the republican army had reached the Rhine and by October, 1794, the conquest of Holland was imminent.

There was great anxiety in the family of the Count Palatine of Zweibrücken—which had by now been increased by the birth of two little girls, Auguste² and Charlotte Auguste³—when the French arrived at the gates of Mannheim. With the last of his funds and helped by a loan, the Count had bought a house in that city, and now this was also menaced. At one o'clock on the night

¹ Lehrbach to Thugut, Munich, 5th November, 1794. Vienna St.A.

² Born 1788.

³ Afterwards Karoline Auguste, born 1792.

before Christmas in the year 1794, the Countess, who was again in the third month of pregnancy, was suddenly awakened from a deep sleep by a heavy crash,¹ and learned that the French were bombarding the town: a shell had just grazed the roof of the house. Hastily throwing on a dress she rushed to her husband's room where the children and other scared members of the household had already gathered. The hours passed anxiously. At six in the morning the shelling became so violent that the whole family hurriedly sought shelter in the cellar. Scarcely had they arrived when the news was brought that Mank, their faithful waiting woman, had been fatally wounded, and that five servants had been hit by a shell which had fallen on the house. At eight o'clock in the morning there seemed to be a pause, and the family decided to take this opportunity to escape. Wilhelmine, leading little Auguste by the hand, had just left the cellar steps when a shell hit the place where she had been standing, and shortly afterwards another shell burst about ten paces away from the fugitives. As though by a miracle, they all remained practically unhurt. After that the whole party, led by the Countess, ran as quickly as possible to the Heidelberg Gate, where a carriage had been ordered to wait for them. On arrival at the Gate the poor expectant mother was so terrified, so breathless and exhausted, that she fainted. When she regained consciousness she found to her horror that Ludwig, then a child of eight, and his tutor, Kirschbaum, were missing. She wanted to return at once to the town, parts of which were already in flames, when a servant arrived to say that the boy was safe and well. During the flight and the bursting of the shell on the cellar stairs the boy had fallen down several steps without hurting himself, and had then remained behind with Kirschbaum. As the latter had lost sight of the rest of the family, he had taken the child with him to a small place outside the town where they were safe, and shortly afterwards the whole family was reunited at Schwetzingen.

Some time later the Countess Palatine returned to Mannheim on a short visit to look at the damage. She shuddered at the sight of her former lovely home, reduced to ruins by the seventeen shells which had hit it. The Count and his wife had been able to rescue only part of their furniture and possessions on their flight from Strasbourg, and now their new acquisitions were again badly

¹ Description taken from a letter written by the Countess Palatine Wilhelmine Auguste to the Countess Montjoye, Mannheim, 31st December, 1794. Munich H.A.

damaged—and this at a time when they were in very straitened circumstances. Completely crushed by her recent experiences and broken down in health, the Countess, with her children, went back to her parents in Darmstadt whilst her husband settled in Rohrbach near Heidelberg and rented a house there for his family.

In the meantime news was received that the reigning Duke of Zweibrücken, Karl August, bereft of his country by the French, had died of a stroke in exile at Mannheim on 1st April, 1795. This meant that Maximilian Joseph of Zweibrücken, brother of the deceased, was at the age of thirty-nine the heir and new Duke of a country occupied by the French. 'I do not think,'¹ he remarked on receiving the news, 'that any reign has ever begun under more wretched circumstances than mine.' News from Munich, however, was more reassuring. The Elector's hopes of an heir seemed to have been completely disappointed, and the unequal marriage had proved the failure which might have been expected. 'She has no religion and has democratic principles,' the Elector complained about his young wife,² 'and she would prefer to see me dead so that she could marry the Italian Guardsman A.' The Electress for her part said to her *Obersthofmeister* (Controller of the Household) when the Austrian Minister asked to be received in audience: 'I do not wish to see Lehrbach alone, but only in the presence of my Court; in any case I should like to scratch out his eyes for arranging this marriage.'³ Rumours were already current in Munich that Karl Theodor would divorce his wife, or would have her shut up somewhere. Consequently Duke Maximilian of Zweibrücken had little to fear from this side for his succession.

This was the state of affairs when fresh trouble arose. The health of Ludwig's mother, Wilhelmine Auguste of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, who was in her seventh month of pregnancy, had suffered very considerably from all she had been through. The doctors spoke of pulmonary consumption and great anxiety was felt regarding the coming confinement. During recent years the Duchess had often felt deeply hurt that her '*chérissime* husband' had sought consolation elsewhere, although because of her own ill-health she had been unable to prevent it; she was particularly

¹ Tautphoeus to Thugut, Munich, 10th April, 1795. Vienna St.A.

² Lehrbach to Thugut, Munich, 9th August, 1796. Vienna St.A.

³ Lehrbach to Thugut, Munich, 18th August, 1796. Vienna St.A.

grieved on that account when, in June, 1795, she gave birth to another boy, who was named Karl. She often had premonitions of an early death and to these she gave expression in her letters. Her husband's love she wished to retain until the end: 'I confess with my usual frankness,'¹ she wrote to him once, 'that it would hurt me far more to share your heart with anyone than to share your person.'

After the birth of little Karl matters became very much more serious. Five children in quick succession, and a miscarriage had done great harm to her delicate lung. It was impossible to stop her cough, and the restless, anxious life of the last few years had aggravated her malady.² Nevertheless, the Duchess kept the house going as well as she was able. She was well versed in economy and inculcated this quality into her son Ludwig. She looked after the children in the most self-sacrificing manner. Her only fear was that the Elector in Munich would conceive the idea of taking her eldest son from her and sending him to some institution in the capital, for he was now in the direct line of succession to the throne of Bavaria. Wilhelmine Auguste was anxious to give her son a sound religious grounding, and to this end considered the appointment of a priest named Johann Anton Sambuga of whom she had heard the best possible reports. He was to implant in the boy's heart the same faith in God and the same hope of a happy hereafter which were making the thought of death more bearable to the Duchess, who was now visibly weaker. On 30th March, 1796, she succumbed to the fatal illness, and left her children motherless. Prince Ludwig was approaching an age when he had some realization of what the loss meant. His mother's anxiety about his upbringing had been all the greater because she knew that he was not an easy child to manage. He was very quick-tempered and he was by turn impetuous, obstinate, and moody.³ When still quite young it was found that his hearing was imperfect and that difficulties in his speech had to be overcome. But at heart he was affectionate, eager, industrious, and he had an excellent memory. His intellectual capabilities only developed later, and at first he found difficulty in learning. His mother's

¹ Wilhelmine Auguste to Count Palatine Maximilian, Darmstadt, 3rd March, 1794. Munich H.A.

² Wilhelm Winkler, *Die Mutter König Ludwig I. von Bayern. Nach ungedruckten Briefen.* Published in *Der Wächter* in 1924, p. 521.

³ See Max Spindler, *Josef Anton Sambuga und die Jugendentwicklung König Ludwigs I.*, Aichach, 1927.

death made a profound impression on the Prince; he withdrew into himself, became reserved, and it was only after fresh and important events had banished the sad memory that his natural gaiety reasserted itself.

Ludwig, like the rest of the family, had not much time for sad thought; events of world importance prevented it. The numerous revolutionary leaders who succeeded each other so quickly in Paris prepared the way for the despotism of a ruthless, determined military genius. Napoleon Bonaparte, at the age of twenty-six, had asserted his power in sanguinary street fighting in Paris—he had done rather more, in fact, than was agreeable to the republican rulers for whom he was fighting. In order, therefore, to remove this young man, after his task was accomplished, he was in the following year given supreme command of the army in Italy against the Coalition. As Bavaria, under Karl Theodor, was on the side of Austria, the French in 1796 also advanced on Munich. The Elector was forced to flee—Mannheim was again French for a time. When the republican armies crossed the Rhine Duke Maximilian of Zweibrücken and his family were once more forced to escape, this time to Ansbach. Here Ludwig met his cousin, the Hereditary Grand Duke Karl of Baden, who was the same age as himself. The two boys did not take to each other; they played together, but there was no question of any real friendship, particularly as both were fond of their small, ten-year-old playmate, Josefine von Venningen. One day, filled with jealousy, Ludwig hurled himself upon his rival and thrashed him soundly.

In September, 1797, Archduke Karl defeated the French armies at Amberg and Würzburg. Simultaneously, however, Bonaparte pushed forward so successfully and threateningly in Italy that in October Vienna felt obliged to conclude the Peace of Campo Formio. The left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France, and with it Zweibrücken and the most beautiful parts of the Palatinate, but an endeavour was made to obtain compensation in Salzburg and Eastern Bavaria. Duke Maximilian was beside himself over the solution, and the strained relations between him and the Elector reached breaking point. The latter feared lest his Zweibrücken heir, with the help of the French and the Bavarian Provincial Diet, should ultimately dethrone him. For this reason he could not decide to abandon his Austrian policy as Vienna seemed his only support.

Ludwig, at the tender age of eleven, was more or less removed from all these far-reaching events, although he must have felt their results in his daily life. At this time the priest whom his mother had chosen was appointed. Sambuga was forty-two when he took charge of the boy, who at that time cared nothing for religion, and who expressed his dislike¹ of the Sacraments, of church-going, and of priests. He regarded confession as a humiliation and declared that there was too much compulsion about the whole matter. Sambuga was not antagonistic to the progressive thoughts of the time, but sought to unite them with his religious views—to be, in short, an enlightened Christian and to guide his pupil in the same way. He made it clear that religion was not only a duty but a necessity, because it protected family life and demanded obedience to law and order.

When Sambuga saw how interested this small boy was in his future career and in the manner in which he could best fulfil his obligations, he made it his chief endeavour to instil into him wise views on the subject. He endeavoured to awaken in him the ideal of a Prince who was at the same time a good Christian and who, having complete power in the State, would use it unconditionally in a sincere and Christian spirit. For if the Prince did not remain independent and self-reliant he would only be 'a ball wrapped in majesty, with which people play'. God and common sense must guide him. Sambuga's fundamental principles of thought had an enormous influence on the young Prince. Independence, self-reliance, self-esteem, and love of God became his guiding principles. Only Ludwig's artistic temperament, which still lay dormant, received no encouragement from Sambuga, for he was totally without this quality himself. This side of Ludwig's character was to develop spontaneously at a later date and, like his national feelings, to lead him irresistibly in new directions.

In March, 1797, Duke Maximilian, the boy's father, decided to marry again and made Princess Caroline of Baden his wife. With distrust young Ludwig saw his new 'mother' come into his home; he could not feel any affection for her and always regarded her as a stranger. The Duchess also did not take kindly to her eldest step-child. In political matters, however, they understood each other better. The new Duchess was anti-French, whereas her husband was beginning to incline once more to a

¹ Spindler, *Sambuga*, p. 54.

Francophile policy, now that the reign of terror in France had given place to a more reasonable course. The Elector in Munich became increasingly weak, both mentally and physically: Maximilian implored him to adopt a pro-Prussian rather than a pro-Austrian policy. Karl Theodor, however, could not detach himself from the latter country although he complained more than ever about his wife. 'I assure you,' he wrote to Count Seilern, 'if she were not a member of such a distinguished family I should have sent her back long ago.' The Electress, meanwhile, declared to everyone who would listen that she was the most unhappy of women.¹

In the autumn of 1798, Karl Theodor joined the Second Coalition against France. He placed his army under the command of the Imperial Generals, and in so doing virtually handed over his country. That seemed to be the last step in the long apprehended incorporation of Bavaria into Austria. Then Higher Powers intervened. On 12th February, 1799, Karl Theodor had a stroke. He lingered a few days longer, and it was significant that the entire population of Munich and of Bavaria feared lest he should recover. But on the afternoon of 16th February the sovereign died. When the heralds proclaimed his successor, the Duke of Zweibrücken, under the title of Elector Maximilian IV Joseph, the joy was so great that the Austrian Minister, Count Seilern, described it as 'unseemly'.²

Thus, at the age of forty-three, Ludwig's father became Elector in Bavaria. The new Elector had great natural wisdom and unbounded kindness, he was interested and well versed in military matters, but was no Statesman in the real meaning of that word. The direction of affairs, therefore, passed naturally to the most capable man in his *entourage*, Freiherr Maximilian Joseph von Montgelas. Montgelas was a calculating, moderate, sensible man; he spoke excellent French and imperfect German, and shared his royal master's liking for France. At his very first audience the new Elector informed the French Minister³: 'Your country has no more loyal friend than myself. I was brought up in France, and I beg you to look upon me as a Frenchman.' These somewhat exaggerated words, which were

¹ Count Seilern, in a private letter to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Munich, 25th May, 1798. Vienna St.A.

² Count Seilern to Thugut, 16th February, 1799. Vienna St.A.

³ M. Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns*, II, p. 392.

intended only as a courtesy, were nevertheless accepted at their face value, the more so since the sentiments of Montgelas, who on 21st February took over the conduct of foreign affairs, were already well known. At the moment, however, Bavaria was still in Austria's sphere of power, and that country was in turn allied with Russia and England. With the object of binding the Elector to himself, the Czar agreed to the conclusion of an agreement whereby his daughter, the Grand Duchess Katharina, was promised in marriage to the thirteen-year-old Prince Ludwig. The children had never seen each other, but the marriage was not to take place until the Prince had reached his eighteenth year. The agreement signified brilliant political and economic prospects for Bavaria, whilst Russia at the same time undertook to guarantee the inviolability of Bavarian territory against all comers including Austria, who was at the moment Russia's ally. All this had to be paid for, however, by Bavarian participation in the war against France, although the Elector, like his subjects, would have preferred to remain neutral, as Russia was for them the embodiment of everything retrograde. It was not surprising that the 'Illuminati', those turbulent, enlightened men, should desire for Bavaria the same liberal measures which had been retained by the new government in Paris.

In France, certainly, events now developed along totally new lines. So far, the Government had succeeded in keeping that dangerous young man, Bonaparte, out of the way in Italy and later in Egypt, and at the same time had turned his military genius to good account. But in 1799 the General, returning from Egypt, quickly put an end to this state of affairs. The *Directoire* had lost all prestige in Europe since the defeat of its armies in the field. With his grenadiers Napoleon turned out the delegates, set up a Consular Government, and drew up a new Constitution, which was in effect a military monarchy with Napoleon at its head as First Consul. His action was immediately acclaimed throughout France as deliverance from dire misfortune and dissension, and all the more so when he proceeded to win back on the field of battle what had been lost during his absence.

In the meantime the new Elector, Maximilian IV Joseph, and his family had moved to Munich. It was as Crown Prince that his son Ludwig entered the city for the first time; he was taken everywhere and could not sufficiently admire the art treasures in the picture galleries and museums, which at that time were of

very unassuming proportions. For the Munich of those days was still far from being a princely capital. It was merely a large provincial town with about 45,000 inhabitants, and was surrounded by a turreted wall which prevented expansion and crowded the life of the city into a confined space. The town consisted of about two thousand houses. After the unpopular regime of Karl Theodor the new ruler and his son, now grown to a courteous and elegant youth, were received with great enthusiasm. But the joy did not last long: Bavaria was still allied to the Emperor and once again became the theatre of war.

Whilst Napoleon advanced victoriously in Italy a French army crossed the Rhine in May, defeated the Austrians, on whose side the Bavarian troops were fighting, and marched eastwards. Maximilian Joseph was forced to flee from his capital almost as soon as he had entered it, and the French marched into Munich. The Prince had so often fled with his parents that it no longer made any great impression upon him. At this time he began to write down descriptions and notes which can be regarded as the beginnings of his diary. His observations were charmingly naïve: 'When we arrived at Dirschenreith,' he wrote, describing the flight,¹ 'we had some really good milk. Some of the people who lived there, watching us, were astonished that we enjoyed the black bread so much; they must have thought that Princes and Princesses could not eat black bread.' This new flight naturally did not increase the Prince's very lukewarm feeling for the French. In addition, there came news of the behaviour of the victorious troops in Munich, of the riotous life in the royal kitchens and cellars, and of looting in the galleries which Ludwig had so greatly admired. It had been possible to hide the most costly treasures but a great many valuable pictures had been left. A French Commissaire would appear and write on the most beautiful pictures: '*République Française*'; and next day grenadiers came and carried off the booty. This news made the young Prince highly indignant, and he would have liked to hurry back himself to wrest their booty from the plunderers.

Maximilian Joseph felt differently about it. He was also deeply grieved by events in Munich and annoyed by the oppressive taxes imposed by the French on both the capital and the country

¹ Description in Prince Ludwig's own writing of the flight of himself and his family to the Upper Palatinate when the French advanced, 28th May, 1800. Munich H.A.

districts. But he was still more angry when he heard that Vienna had concluded an armistice with France, thereby practically abandoning Bavaria to the enemy. Maximilian Joseph felt that he had been betrayed and forsaken, and was seized with indignation against everything which could be called Imperial.¹ 'I cannot be blamed,' he cried, 'if in future I have to act very differently.... I should at least have been informed before the truce was concluded.'

Shortly afterwards, the armistice came to an end. The war continued, and the Austrians were defeated at Hohenlinden on 3rd December, 1800. This was followed by the Peace of Lunéville on 9th February, 1801, which confirmed France's right to the territory on the left bank of the Rhine. And now there came the great change in Bavarian policy, based on the firm convictions of Maximilian Joseph and Montgelas. Although Austria had been defeated, the Elector's distrust of Francis II.'s intentions regarding Bavaria had in no way lessened, rather to the contrary, as Imperial troops still remained in parts of Bavaria. French policy made clever use of this state of affairs. Efforts were made to persuade Bavaria, by special conciliatory treatment, to put an end to her alliance with Austria and to join France. Notwithstanding the war, Maximilian's speech to the French Minister shortly after his accession had not been forgotten in Paris. The efforts resulted in peace, and a Pact of Friendship between Bavaria and France was signed on 24th August, 1801. By this pact France, now decidedly the leading power on the Continent, took over from Russia the guarantee of Bavaria's territorial integrity against Vienna, and in addition promised Bavaria adequate compensation for the territory she had lost on the left bank of the Rhine.

The young Prince followed all these events with anxious interest. But his opposition was aroused when he realized that his father's policy was in favour of joining France, the country which since his earliest years had time after time made him a fugitive. He had not forgotten that France had sent both his godfather and his mother's best friend, consecrated, anointed, and crowned though they were, to the guillotine. For the first time in his life Maximilian Joseph had to be severe to the Prince. The differences of opinion between father and son, which had begun with the Elector's second marriage, had increased since that time.

¹ Herr von Palm to Thugut, Amberg, 21st July, 1800. Vienna St.A.

The Austrian Minister, who was naturally little pleased with the new pro-French policy, watched these differences with interest¹: 'The Elector is beginning to show his dislike of the Prince, and yesterday, on the pretext that he had not powdered his hair sufficiently, dismissed him from the *Cercle*, whereupon it was given out in the evening that he was ill in bed. . . . It is dreadful that the principles of this young Prince are so different from those of his father, who treats him coldly.'

The murder on 24th March, 1801, of the Czar Paul, who had turned away from England and placed his hopes on France, made a difference to the plans for Ludwig's marriage. Czar Alexander I, who succeeded to the throne, immediately turned back to England and was therefore in the opposite camp to the Elector of Bavaria, who had thrown in his lot with France. Consequently there was now some doubt about the marriage between Ludwig and the Grand Duchess Katharina, which had been arranged by Czar Paul. This gave the fifteen-year-old Prince much food for thought, for his imagination had been greatly excited at the idea of marriage with the daughter of the Czar of all the Russias. Even the fact that, with French help, Bavaria was not only to be compensated as promised for the loss of her territory on the left of the Rhine, but was also to be enlarged and formed into a compact State in place of the scattered constellation she had once been—even this fact did not influence Prince Ludwig, who still mourned Zweibrücken and the beautiful Palatinate of his fathers. He grudged these possessions to the French, and this constituted a further difference of opinion between himself and his father. Added to this too, there were numerous innovations on the French model, instigated by the Minister Montgelas, whose influence was making itself increasingly felt, and introduced after the Elector's return to Munich in April 1801.

Montgelas' policy now became paramount.² He desired with French support to secure as much power and territory as possible for Bavaria, and that progress and enlightenment should take the place of corrupt retrogression and exaggerated bigotry. Consequently, various ordinances of the Church immediately fell victim to the new regime. Following the example of the Emperor Joseph, the Elector closed numerous monasteries in Bavaria; their number had increased beyond all proportion and

¹ Graf Seilern to Graf Colloredo, Bayreuth, 17th February and 7th April, 1801. Vienna St.A.

² M. Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, p. 389 f.

they had amassed too great wealth. The reforms culminated in the edict of 10th January, 1803, which proclaimed religious freedom. Such measures called forth the opposition of the clergy, amongst whom was Prince Ludwig's tutor, Sambuga, who had laid the foundations of the Prince's religious opinions. This man had a marked influence in the Elector's family but was in strong opposition to the opinions and reforms of Freiherr von Montgelas. That Minister, meanwhile, had watched with distrust the development of the young Prince, and had often had to listen to his criticism of the new policy towards France. It was not surprising that he attributed these views to Ludwig's tutor, and was determined to remove him from the young man's vicinity at the earliest opportunity. His chance came in May, 1803, when the Prince, at the age of seventeen, was to go to the University of Landshut. Sambuga was not permitted to accompany his pupil, who, on 6th May, left for Landshut in the company of Geheimrat Joseph von Kirschbaum, a native of the Palatinate. While at Landshut the Prince attended the famous lectures by Johann Michael Sailer on 'Elementary Principles of Religion'. These taught 'a gentle, enlightened denominational tolerance',¹ which, however, could not quite be reconciled with the ideas of Montgelas. Consequently the purpose of Sambuga's removal was not fully achieved even as regards religious matters, and far less so where politics were concerned.

The autocratic character of Napoleon Bonaparte had, in the meantime, clearly shown itself. In order to strike a blow at England he had quite suddenly, on 5th June, 1803, occupied the Electorate of Hanover, which was connected by personal ties with that country. The small Hanoverian army surrendered without fighting and gave up its arms. Ludwig was infuriated. He was completely on the side of Generals who advocated armed resistance to such arbitrary action, and he railed against the Hanoverian Ministers who had decided upon an ignominious surrender before any resistance had been offered. The Prince made a written statement of what he would have done in the face of Napoleon's threats had he been a Hanoverian Minister: 'My plan would be to defend our country with all our forces. . . . I would vote firmly and irrevocably for an appeal to the country, explaining the danger . . . of being enslaved and exploited by one

¹ Hermann Thiersch, *Ludwig I. von Bayern und die Georgia Augusta*, Berlin, 1927, p. 7.

of the most rapacious and insatiable of nations. . . . We would hope to arouse the greater nations to arm against France, which aims at being sole ruler in Europe, and endeavour to free our country and so many others from the tyranny of this nation.'

Ludwig's style was involved and clumsy, but the ideas and subject matter of the essay were excellent. The Prince's interest in all that was taking place in the world increased with the knowledge that he himself would one day be called upon to play an active part in the destiny of his country. It was therefore full of eagerness that Ludwig listened three times a week to Sailer's teachings on: '*Die Moral des Regenten in christlichen Maximen.*' Everything which had any bearing on his future career was doubly interesting to Ludwig and, when he left Landshut in the autumn of 1803 to go to the University of Göttingen, it was with the greatest reluctance that he parted from this teacher for whom he had such deep veneration.

COMPULSORY ALLEGIANCE

1803-1807

At the end of 1804 Prince Ludwig was a tall, slim young man whose whole appearance was noble and attractive, although not actually good-looking. His rather too prominent nose slightly marred his otherwise finely-cut features ; and his slight deafness and slow, indistinct speech were drawbacks in society. His mind and character had matured surprisingly during the last few years. His father, aware of this and of the brilliant intellectual gifts which he recognized in his son, declared him to be of age even before the Prince had completed his eighteenth year. The young Prince received the news with a pride and a self-assurance which did not tend to lighten the task of his tutors during the next few years. Kirschbaum, in particular, who accompanied him to Göttingen, was far from pleased. He complained frequently ¹ of the childish obstinacy which Ludwig showed at times, and of his pupil's ill-humour with which he perforce had to contend. This irritability was chiefly due to the fact that people did not always understand what Ludwig said and that he in turn failed to catch their answers. For some time this induced a certain unsociable shyness. But the tutor himself was also hot-tempered and irascible, and this often led to differences of opinion. It was therefore all the more important that the Prince should find good friends with whom to associate. These were available, and Count Karl Seinsheim and Freiherr Heinrich von der Tann, both friends of his childhood, joined the Prince at Göttingen.

Ludwig lived there under the title of Count von Werdenfels, but this was only a matter of form as everyone knew who he was ; he was the centre of Göttingen society. Whereas Seinsheim was cheerful and sociable and, like Ludwig, interested in the history of art, Tann was of a more serious disposition, although he joined in the gaiety and the parties which took place in the large music and ballroom of the Prince's residence.

¹ *Geheimrat* Kirschbaum to Elector Max Joseph, Munich, 9th July, 1805. Munich H.A.

Whilst in Göttingen the young Prince began to keep a kind of diary written on scraps of paper. Ludwig wrote down everything, from the veriest trifle to the most delicate matter. This habit, which started in his early youth, remained with him all his life. In this way he wrote his own biography during his lifetime.

The Prince attended lectures with great diligence. The antipathy he had evinced towards learning as a child disappeared, more especially when the subjects interested him, such as history, the history of art, and political science. Hofrat August von Schlözer with his vigorous manner and liberal views was particularly congenial to the young man. Ludwig wished to study with him *Regierungswissenschaft* (the science of governing) —elucidated by philosophy and history. It was quite in conformity with his opinion when this professor taught that 'Real freedom consists in each being allowed to use his powers as he desires: the best censorship is where none exists, and ruling consists in providing happiness for others according to their own choice'.¹

The Prince had more time to devote to the new spheres of thought with which he came into contact at Göttingen, as he cared little for the pastimes usually beloved of princes, such as riding and hunting. Riding constituted part of his duties, but as he had little taste for it he never became a good horseman. On the whole, his time at Göttingen proved to have an excellent effect on the Prince. When he returned to Munich in September, 1804, he carried away with him impressions which intensified his zest for life and certain friendships which were to have a great influence on the whole of his future.

The arrival of the Hereditary Prince at that moment was not very welcome to the Chief Minister. He was endeavouring to influence the Elector towards a French orientation. As Ludwig was strongly opposed to such a course the Minister feared that his own influence with the Elector would be seriously impaired, and possibly that the Prince would frustrate all his plans. For this reason Montgelas suggested to Maximilian Joseph that the young Prince should be sent to Italy. As a pretext for the journey he claimed that it would complete the Prince's education, particularly as all that he had studied, both at home and at the University, pointed to his obtaining a personal knowledge of

¹ Thiersch, *Ludwig I.*, p. 30.

the scenes of Roman history. Accordingly, on 12th November, 1804, Ludwig, in the company of his old tutor Kirschbaum, started on his journey for the 'earthly paradise', as he himself called Italy.

The first long halt was made in Venice. This city of the lagoons cast its spell upon Ludwig as it still does upon all who visit it. Considering the Prince's eighteen years, it was natural that in the various galleries it was the statues and portraits of beautiful women which made most appeal to him. At that time the sculptor Antonio Canova, the chief exponent of classicism, was in his prime. The young heir to the Bavarian throne stood lost in enthusiasm before the magnificent statue of Hebe, which the sculptor had just exhibited in Venice. He later declared in a poem that in that moment his love for art was born.

It was, however, not only bronze and marble statues of beautiful women which delighted the young Prince; a living woman—of the world, worldly—enraptured him to such an extent that he tried to shake off his tutor, friends and companions in order to follow her round Venice. Signora Artemis was her name and she was the gay mistress of an old Count. Kirschbaum grew angry. The Prince was on the threshold of manhood, but the Professor had been his tutor since childhood and could not forget his rôle. Ludwig, for his part, stood on his dignity and would not allow anyone to dictate to him. Once he showed himself publicly in the street with Signora Artemis. The result was a scene between the Prince and Kirschbaum, who upbraided him with his solitary jaunts in quest of adventure. The *Geheimrat* reproached Ludwig that he had *affiché* himself publicly—a serious offence, in view of the marriage negotiations on his behalf which had been practically concluded and which were regarded with so much envy by other Courts. One thing led to another and the two separated in great agitation. Kirschbaum, suffering from a swollen sense of responsibility, without informing Ludwig, reported the whole matter to Ludwig's father in the following words: 'It is not seemly that the Prince should fall into the hands of dubious females and forfeit health, money and reputation.'

Upon receipt of this disquieting letter, Maximilian Joseph wrote excitedly to his son in French: 'If you realized how sorely you are grieving your father, who loves you tenderly, you would not make yourself so extremely conspicuous. I allowed you to

travel for the sake of your education, not to give you the opportunity of destroying body and soul. I trust you have such confidence in Kirschbaum as is due to the man to whom you owe your moral existence. . . . I therefore order you to follow his counsels. . . . I would further beg to you not to scrawl so abominably when you write to me, and to learn to spell correctly, for it often takes me two days to decipher your letters. . . .'¹ Whereupon there was another scene between Kirschbaum and the Prince, who knew perfectly well to whom he owed the censure. Furiously angry, he said to the *Geheimrat*: 'Even this letter from my father will not stop me—a Prince who has attained his majority—from going out sometimes without a lackey. Besides, there is nothing between me and this woman and you have exaggerated the whole thing.' To his father he confessed quite frankly²: 'Yes, this lady in Venice made an agreeable impression on me and I was seen with her, but it was not a serious affair and no deep feelings are involved. . . . In any case I can assure you, my dear father, that I have not lost my chastity. I have never yet touched a woman or a girl.'

During his stay in Venice the news arrived that Napoleon had been declared hereditary Emperor of the French. What chiefly aroused the Prince's indignation in this matter was that in the Cathedral this 'upstart' took the Crown from the Pope's hand and placed it on his own head and then crowned his wife Josephine. Although he was far from the scene of great political events and saw and heard much on his travels to distract his mind, the development of events in France depressed Ludwig. On the long drives from Venice to Rome he endeavoured to visualize the danger threatening his country, and Europe in general, in view of French predominance. But he comforted himself with the thought that pride goes before a fall. This reflection was encouraged by the impressions of the Eternal City, once the mistress of a powerful world-wide empire, long since declined but still showing traces of her former greatness in ruins and broken columns. The same, he thought, would be the case with France. 'Nowhere else does man so well realize the vanity of earthly things,' wrote Prince Ludwig about Rome, which 'yet lives and reigns, though robbed of earthly might' because 'the

¹ Elector Max Joseph to Prince Ludwig, Munich, 29th December, 1804. Munich H.A.

² Prince Ludwig to Elector Max Joseph, Rome, 16th January, 1805. Munich H.A.

spirit alone is for ever supreme'. In Napoleon, however, he perceived force only, not spirit, and prophesied:

'Swiftly raised to predominance
in Europe, French Might will
as swiftly perish.'¹

The more powerful Napoleon became and the more he endeavoured to impose his will on German States, the more German nationalist Ludwig became. He felt the 'power' of this consciousness and was proud to be a 'Teutscher'. He pronounced and wrote the word with a 'T' because he considered it right to recall to mind the ancestor Teut, Tuisco.

The Prince only stopped in Rome a few days and then went to Naples, where he arrived on the 20th January, 1805, impatiently awaited by the Court. King Ferdinand was anxious to secure Ludwig as husband for one of his daughters. He was accordingly received by the King and Queen 'with the very greatest kindness'. On his first visit a magnificent banquet was given at the Palace at which the Bavarian Hereditary Prince met the Princesses. But he did not care for them at all, besides he considered a Russian Grand Duchess—a daughter of the Czar—a much better match than a minor princess of the small kingdom of Naples. On the occasion of a ball on the 27th January, the intentions of the Royal Family were made plain. M. de Micheroux, a Secretary of State, approached *Geheimrat* Kirschbaum and asked him confidentially: 'Tell me, have negotiations been entered into with any other Court regarding the future marriage of your Heir to the Throne? If not, I would suggest a choice from among the Royal Princesses here in Naples.' Kirschbaum was aware of the Russian plan and answered: 'Very close ties with the Court of St. Petersburg are under consideration. The Prince himself has not yet seen the lady, but he cherishes a definitely warm feeling for her after all he has heard of her goodness and beauty.' Ludwig wrote to his father: 'The two daughters of the Queen are anything but pretty, and I would not care for either of them as a wife.'

The beauties of the country around Naples, on the other hand, delighted the Prince; there were, of course, excursions to Vesuvius. On the 26th January, 1805, for instance, Ludwig's whole party started up the famous mountain on donkeys and mules. They

¹ Poems of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, part I, Munich, 1829. *Elegie, Campagna di Roma*, p. 27.

walked several times round the crater of Vesuvius, occasionally in actual danger as they approached so close to seething masses of lava that the soles of the Prince's boots were burnt. 'No one could climb further into the crater than we did,'¹ he wrote to his father. *Geheimrat* Kirschbaum was indignant. 'That is the sheerest folly! How can any one walk deliberately into the crater of a trembling, fire-spitting mountain and across chaotic masses of lava, half an hour before darkness sets in and with a storm threatening!' ²

Ludwig became impatient: 'Leave me alone, I am a Prince and I am of age. I shall do as I like.'

The *Geheimrat* again complained to his royal master of the follies of the Prince: 'He associates too easily with people who please him by their speech and attitude but who are not in the least suitable for him, and he continues to wander about alone.'

Ludwig had long been aware that the *Geheimrat* reported everything that occurred. Kirschbaum continued to watch the Prince's associates with suspicion. Ludwig took a fancy to Madame de W., the daughter of the American Ambassador in Paris, who was staying at the same hotel. His tutor reported this to Munich immediately, and although he admitted that the Prince had fallen into good hands and that the lady was able to keep him within bounds in public, he nevertheless added³ that Ludwig had said to the Austrian Minister, Count Kaunitz, another such happy-go-lucky young man: 'that it was a good idea to have one's affairs handy in the same house.'

The Royal Family, however, had not abandoned its hopes of an alliance. 'The Court overwhelms me with courtesies and no one could be more kind . . .' wrote Ludwig to his father,⁴ 'but this cannot persuade me to love the Princess or marry her. I would regard such a thing as my greatest misfortune.'

Kirschbaum remained, as hitherto, at loggerheads with his *protégé*. The weather was very bad and a high sea was running. Nevertheless, Ludwig wished to visit the islands Procida and Ischia. The *Geheimrat* was afraid that the small boat would

¹ Prince Ludwig to Elector Maximilian Joseph, Naples, 29th January, 1805. Munich H.A.

² *Geheimrat* Kirschbaum to Prince Ludwig, Naples, 15th February, 1805. Munich H.A.

³ *Geheimrat* Kirschbaum to Elector Max Joseph, Naples, 31st January, 1805. Munich H.A.

⁴ Prince Ludwig to Elector Maximilian Joseph, Naples, 18th February, 1805. Munich H.A.

capsize or be dashed upon the rocks. However, he had no choice but to accompany the Prince. 'It is vanity,'¹ he complained, 'which prompts the Prince to all this; it was the same with those two walks in the crater of Vesuvius. I wish such things were considered ridiculous instead of admirable and clever and that they would tell him so in his letters from home. The Prince is close friends with Count Kaunitz here. The free tone and desire for independence in all he does are still very much to the fore.'²

The *Geheimrat* could not understand that a young man wanted amusement. He regarded Ludwig's insistence upon his majority as his *idée fixe* and would not recognize that constant supervision and complaints at last become unbearable. The *Geheimrat* finally lost all self-control and on the 15th February wrote a letter to the Prince, wherein he used some unconsidered expressions³: 'This abominable rudeness towards a man who has watched over your life and your education for twelve years, with care, anxiety and loyalty, is unbearable. . . . I tell you frankly, Sir, that I must have a guarantee from you personally against further behaviour of this sort or I must . . . make an end to our relations, as I cannot put up with such bad treatment from an ungrateful young man and pupil. . . . Farewell, and learn real happiness. My attitude will depend upon your own.'

Kirschbaum wished to hurry on his departure. In order to pacify to some extent this resentful but well-meaning man, Ludwig decided to leave with him for Rome, although with great reluctance as Madame de W., who was a clever and well-read woman, continued to arouse his enthusiasm. He accordingly bade her farewell and expressed hopes of meeting her family some day in Munich. Ludwig arrived in Rome on the 23rd February, and wished to find solace in the joys of Carnival. But Kirschbaum feared the Prince might meet some other beautiful woman.⁴ 'God save us from approaching too near to a fire for we are most inflammable . . .' said the troubled mentor.

It was not until he reached Rome that Ludwig received a coldly worded letter from his father, telling him that the offer of marriage made by the Court of Naples had been officially

¹ Kirschbaum to Elector Maximilian Joseph, Naples, 27th February, 1805. Munich H.A.

² Kirschbaum to Elector Max Joseph, Naples, 31st January, 1805. Munich H.A.

³ Kirschbaum to Prince Ludwig, Naples, 15th February, 1805. Munich H.A.

⁴ Kirschbaum to Elector Max Joseph, Naples, 10th February, 1805. Munich H.A.



LUDWIG I AS CROWN PRINCE, ABOUT 1805.

Portrait by W. Kobell.

refused and sending instructions for the departure which had in fact already taken place.

The Elector also forbade the prince to wander about Rome unattended. Resigned, Ludwig answered¹: 'I give you my word of honour that for the remainder of this journey I will not leave the house unless accompanied by one of the gentlemen you sent with me. But I must confess that this promise will cost me much sorrow.'

The Prince found this restriction particularly irksome in Rome. Hardly had he arrived when he was surrounded by all who came from Germany or elsewhere to study art in the Eternal City. Since the honour he had paid Canova had become known, the Bavarian Heir Apparent was hailed as a patron and lover of art. He confirmed this by an early visit to the *atelier* of Bertel Thorwaldsen. This young sculptor had just become famous through his magnificent statue of Jason and the Amor and Psyche group. Ludwig also got to know the painter Angelica Kauffmann, whose soft, poetic pictures had long enchanted him. She persuaded him to sit for her and succeeded in bringing him under the spell of her art through her winning personality and fascinating manner. She aroused his enthusiasm for classical masterpieces, and he decided to secure really good paintings wherever possible, with which to enrich the galleries at home. Most of all he desired to found a new gallery which would contain only the best and most beautiful. As soon as this became known in Rome, he was overwhelmed with offers of all kinds; amongst them were paintings by Raphael and Vasari. Such things cost a great deal. Ludwig spent all his available money. Then he borrowed five thousand gulden from the Bavarian Minister to the Papal Court, giving him a bill of exchange on the Court Jew Seligmann in Munich. Whereupon the incensed Kirschbaum wrote to the Elector²: 'Prince Ludwig has enquired which Italian masters are missing from the Gallery in Munich and talks of buying pictures as if he had a hundred thousand gulden at his disposal . . . he is proposing to ask Your Highness for the sum of ten to twenty thousand scudi. . . . Your Highness knows his impetuosity once he has a definite liking for something.'

Kirschbaum was also annoyed that the Prince frequented the

¹ Prince Ludwig to Elector Max Joseph, Rome, 6th March, 1805. Munich H.A.

² Kirschbaum to Elector Maximilian Joseph, Rome, 6th April, 1805. Munich H.A.

Osteria of a Spanish wine merchant, Don Rafaele d'Anglada, and associated with artists in a familiar and 'not at all princely' manner. Ludwig, meanwhile, had ambitious ideas and continued his purchases. He wrote to Martin Wagner,¹ a Würzburg sculptor working in Rome: 'My collection will excel in quality. It is my desire to acquire the best that is to be bought in Rome. I want statues for preference, so that my collection will outshine all others in beauty.'

Prince Ludwig lived in a world which the ageing Kirschbaum could no longer understand. The magic of this new world completely captivated the youth.

'Tis here that I live and I long,
I divine, I have faith and I love.
Here first can my being unfold—
A foretaste of Heaven above.'

Ludwig compared the struggle for life in the uninspiring north with life on Italian soil.

'Life in the south is continuous, blissful delight.'² How much more so when the heart is touched. Longing for the beautiful woman in Naples inspired the young man to a poem entitled: 'To my Beloved.'³

'Wild surges through my veins my ardent blood,
I sense a new—a yet undreamed of life.
In all the world my eyes behold but thee. . . .
Where love is not all else is senseless strife.'

After such outbursts Kirschbaum would bring his comrade back to earth by reproaching him with too easy familiarity with his new acquaintances, with loud singing, whistling, and boisterous behaviour in other people's houses, and also of speaking too loudly, which was perhaps due to Ludwig's deafness. The Prince further offended against Kirschbaum's ideas by helping himself too lavishly at table 'even when a Cardinal, State Secretary or Imperial Minister was present'. In short, Kirschbaum found fault with everything and terminated all discussions by saying: 'I shall write and tell the Elector about it.'

In the course of time Ludwig's ill-suppressed resentment burst

¹ Karl Theodor Heigel, *Ludwig I. König von Bayern*, Leipzig, 1782, p. 18.

² From the Elegies: *Morgen* (IX. *Molo di Gasta*) and (XI. *Salerno*), *Gedichte*, pp. 34 and 38.

³ *Gedichte Ludwigs I.*, I, 45.

into flame. Two acquaintances of the Prince were particularly unwelcome to Kirschbaum. He considered that they led his young pupil into amusements of questionable character. One day the whole party went on an excursion. Kirschbaum had been in a bad temper all day. Suddenly a heated argument arose amongst the party and insults were hurled. The Prince endeavoured to act as peacemaker, whereupon Kirschbaum flew into a violent rage. Quite forgetting himself and purple in the face, he shouted at the Prince: 'You are behaving like a scoundrel.' In his anger the *Geheimrat* brandished his stick in the air so that Ludwig believed he was threatening him with it. That brought the matter to a climax; Ludwig pushed him aside and drew his sword. Kirschbaum was startled and fell back. It was impossible that matters could continue on their present footing. Ludwig called Seinsheim and ordered him to hand his father a letter in which he described the whole occurrence and asked him to recall Kirschbaum.¹ 'A man who has treated me in this way cannot remain in my *entourage* any longer. . . . Although he has insulted me I do not wish to hurt him and therefore will never forget that for more than ten years he educated me and looked after my spiritual and bodily welfare affectionately and zealously, and that, at heart, he is only anxious for my happiness. Do not withdraw your favour from him.'

This letter and the urgent representations of Count Seinsheim convinced Maximilian Joseph that he must accede to his son's request. The *Geheimrat* was recalled. At the farewell audience, however, the Prince was full of kindly feeling and presented his tutor with a magnificent ring. But he breathed more freely. Calm reigned once more and Ludwig was able to associate with his artists undisturbed and to give free rein to his love of collecting. He was in no danger of spending money too freely as Kirschbaum had declared; on the contrary, he kept very careful count and when purchasing works of art, endeavoured to bargain and bring down the price.

In the meantime great events were happening in the world. Napoleon's Empire was becoming more firmly established. France was again a monarchy, so all the countries conquered by her and turned into republics had gradually to follow her example. The first step in this direction was the crowning of Napoleon as King of Italy, which took place at Milan on the 28th May, 1805.

¹ Prince Ludwig to Elector Max Joseph, Rome, 9th May, 1805. Munich H.A.

In Germany also, the influence of the Emperor of the French was increasing. Prince Ludwig in Rome followed these events with anger.¹ '*Teutschland*,' he complained, 'obeys the Corsican and destroys itself in so doing; discord alone has conquered and continues to conquer.' Holding these views, he was, at Montgelas' wish, to attend the coronation in Milan! The Prince begged earnestly to be spared that. But there was great anxiety in Munich lest the Emperor should be offended at Ludwig's absence. Sickness was pleaded, but without success. Napoleon was irritated, for his opinion of himself, like his power, had assumed enormous proportions. Whilst attending a *fête* in the amphitheatre in Verona, smiling proudly, he had listened to cries of: 'Long live the Emperor of the World!'

All this tended to strengthen the intentions of the Elector of Bavaria. Distrustful of Austria, he turned naturally to France. In this political move he was influenced by his minister, Montgelas, who advised him to take the decisive step towards uniting with France—now all-powerful under a brilliant leader. For this reason Montgelas insisted that the Prince, on his return through Milan, should at least visit Eugène Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepson, whom he had appointed Viceroy. The Emperor of the French, who had his own plans regarding Bavaria, gave instructions that Ludwig should be given a particularly brilliant military display and that he should be flattered. Eugène Beauharnais accordingly had four Cuirassier regiments drawn up for his guest. He invited him to dinner and placed him between himself and the beautiful Marchesa Litta and showed him every honour. 'I was as pleasant (*galant*) to him as it was possible to be,' Eugène reported to the Emperor.² 'Ludwig is a young man of nineteen and appears less awkward than most German princes. He has the misfortune to be deaf and to stutter, which makes conversation very difficult. He has been travelling for eight months and seems to have made good use of his time.'

The Prince admitted that he was well received, but the Cuirassier regiments made little impression upon him. He had no understanding of military display, particularly when the soldiers belonged to a World Tyrant, and he preferred to listen to what was being said in Italy regarding the foreign ruler.

¹ Graf Buol to Graf Colloredo, Munich, 17th May, 1805. Vienna St.A.

² Eugène Beauharnais to Napoleon, Milan, 5th August, 1805. A. Du Casse, *Mémoires du Prince Eugène Beauharnais*, Paris, 1858.

'The French are generally hated in the country,'¹ he reported to his father.

In Milan Ludwig bought several paintings and statues, and then travelled *viâ* the North Italian Lakes and the Great St. Bernard to Lausanne, arriving there on 9th September. From here Ludwig, in accordance with Montgelas' wish, was to go to Paris, as the Bavarian Minister at that place, who was urging the conclusion of a defensive and offensive alliance, reported that it was now quite obvious that the fate of Europe was in the hands of the Emperor of the French. Montgelas was determined, but the Elector still wavered, for Austrian troops were menacing the Bavarian borders. News was received that Francis II., who since 1804 had assumed the title of Emperor of Austria, was preparing for war against Napoleon. It was obvious that Bavaria could not remain neutral. But her independence was only threatened by Vienna. From France she had received assurances that not only would her frontiers be guaranteed but that territorial acquisitions in Germany might be arranged.

Rumours were already current that Napoleon wished to make the Elector King of Bavaria. Austria then realized that something would have to be done to prevent Bavaria's secession. Prince von Schwarzenberg was sent to Munich with a letter, in Francis II.'s own hand, requesting the Elector to unite his troops with those of Austria, and in return promising him the inviolability of Bavaria. The Elector, however, preferred to withdraw his troops and himself from the sphere of Austria's regiments and go to Würzburg; but he considered himself bound to write and justify his action to his son, who was in Switzerland awaiting further orders. The Prince was greatly alarmed at the rumours which reached him from all sides concerning his father's intentions to go over to the French. At that moment he received Maximilian Joseph's explanatory letter regarding the Austrian demands. He decided to write to his father. In his reply he denounced the manner in which the Austrians wished to treat the Bavarian army, but he could not agree with the final decision.² 'I know, most excellent Father, that you appreciate sincerity, but I beg of you not to join the French, nor unite our arms with theirs, nor to make common cause with this unjust nation, which tramples all that is good under foot.'

¹ Prince Ludwig to his father, Milan, 17th August, 1805. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig to Maximilian Joseph, Berne, 24th September, 1805. Munich H.A.

The Prince's letter arrived too late. Even if it had arrived earlier he would not have been able to change the course of things. Buol reported to Vienna that the Elector firmly believed the French to be invincible and was in an agony of fear. In reality, however, Maximilian Joseph considered his country's interests were better served by siding with the French. On 25th September, in a letter to the Emperor Francis, he still spoke of neutrality.¹ But three days later, after the French Cavalry under General Bernadotte had shown themselves on the heights around Würzburg, he finally concluded the Franco-Bavarian treaty. In the meantime the Austrians occupied Munich; the Emperor Francis also went there and immediately ordered the occupation of all Bavarian territory between the Inn and the Danube.

As soon as Maximilian Joseph had made his final decision he sent Freiherr von Gravenreuth to his son in Lausanne to acquaint him with everything.² Ludwig replied to his father³: 'I am convinced of the justice of your cause as far as Austria is concerned, but could you not make one more attempt through the mediation of Prussia and Russia to obtain your rights before . . .⁴ you resort to arms against the aforementioned country?'

That was a feeble attempt to persuade his father—whilst acknowledging his reasons—to change his policy at the last moment. Everything that was taking place was utterly distasteful to the Prince and, flinging discretion to the winds, he did not hesitate to express his opinion openly. Count Buol, who in the meantime had withdrawn to Salzburg, heard of this: 'I hear from the most reliable source,' he reported to Vienna, 'that the noble-minded Prince of Bavaria disapproves openly and heartily of the stand so unworthily taken by his father, so much indeed that for a long time he would not believe it. . . .'

In this attitude of Ludwig's it was not only his hatred of France, which had been encouraged since his early youth, nor his detestation of Napoleon's despotism which played a part, but his own personal considerations. What would Czar Alexander I., who was on the side of England and Austria, say when he heard that

¹ The Elector to the Emperor Francis II, Würzburg, 25th September, 1805. Vienna St.A.

² Letter written by the Elector in Würzburg to Ludwig, 29th September, 1805. Zwehl, *Der Kampf um Bayern*, 1805, p. 137. '... It is I alone who wished it. No Minister, not even Montgelas, advised me, I swear this to you by my God. . . . I am happy . . . if I am able to secure a peaceful reign for you. . . .'

³ Ludwig to Maximilian Joseph, Lausanne, 6th October, 1805. Munich H.A.

⁴ Graf Buol to Graf Colloredo, Salzburg, 24th October, 1805. Vienna St.A.

the father of the Bavarian Prince, who was to marry his sister Katharina, had gone over to the enemy's camp? These anxieties of Ludwig were increased by a letter from his former tutor Kirschbaum who, now that his anger had evaporated and he had become cooler by being ignored, was anxious to get into touch with his former pupil. 'If war should break out between France and the Allied Powers . . . what will happen, Sir, in regard to your marriage with the Russian Imperial House which is of such great importance for your whole future? You yourself appeared to attach much importance to this union. . . . A short time ago jokes were being made with this charming Princess concerning her own short sight and the occasional deafness of Your Highness. 'That does not matter,' she answered quickly; 'I will hear for him and he will see for me. . . .' Your Highness should write to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia that you have no part in State affairs at present, which is true, and insist upon the alliance which is so dear to you.' ¹ This letter made an impression upon the Prince and he decided to take up the matter again at a suitable time. In the meantime Montgelas urgently desired that Ludwig should wait on the French Representative whilst in Berne. The young Prince, however, refused and it required a sharp word of warning from his father before he agreed to accede to this wish.

Whilst the Bavarian Heir Apparent was still abroad and was uncertain whether he should remain or return home, war broke out between Napoleon and the Great Coalition. With surprising swiftness the Corsican threw seven strong army columns across the Rhine and these then advanced towards the Danube. In a short time the Austrians found it necessary to evacuate Bavaria. On the 12th October, Bavarian and French troops again entered Munich. Napoleon's grim determination was shown in every word: 'I laugh when the Prussians put twenty thousand men into the field; I will then put forty thousand. If this is too little then every single man in France will march, and if that is not enough, the women will also have to turn out; but I shall win.' ²

In desperation Maximilian Joseph in Würzburg threw in his lot with the French. Otto, Napoleon's Minister, proudly reported that the Elector had said to him: 'I place all my confidence in His Majesty the Emperor. I look upon him as my father and my

¹ Kirschbaum to Prince Ludwig, Munich, 5th October, 1805. Munich H.A.

² Prince Ludwig's notes on remarks made by Napoleon. Munich H.A.

only protector and am completely satisfied with the alliance proposed to me. You will find Montgelas satisfactory.' ¹

Blow followed blow in the field till the Austrian General Mack was besieged in the fortress of Ulm and surrendered on 20th October, with his entire garrison. The news was received with tremendous rejoicings by the French and Bavarian Governments. Prince Ludwig, after an absence of nearly a year, had just left Bâle on his way home viâ Strasbourg. He arrived there as the news of the fall of Ulm was received. As the Empress Josephine was in Strasbourg the Prince had to join in the festivities whether he would or no. He could not refrain from exclaiming²: 'My happiest celebration of any victory will be when this, my birth place, is once more German.' This remark went the round in French circles and finally reached the ears of Napoleon. Ludwig's sentiments were not news to the Emperor, but he decided to keep a more watchful eye on this *Prince frondeur* in future.

Suddenly, on the evening of 24th October, all the bells throughout Munich began to ring and in the streets the cry went from mouth to mouth: 'The Emperor is coming!' Then a horseman in a simple green field uniform appeared alone, riding a small and beautiful white horse. He was followed by a great number of Generals, officers of all arms, with ostentatious gold lace uniforms. Napoleon was on his way to join his army and the swift victorious march towards the Danube began.

After the first victories the Elector who, owing to illness, had not seen Napoleon on his march through Bavaria, considered it advisable that he and his son should wait upon the Emperor. It was intended as a gesture of goodwill and an opportunity to reconcile the Prince to Bavaria's new policy, and there was even a chance that the greatest personality of his time might succeed in winning over the Prince.³ Napoleon received them with great kindness and indicated that marriage would be the best way of uniting the two countries. At that time the Emperor's appearance and manners were not yet distasteful to the young Prince, for Napoleon was on his guard, but there was no question of winning him over. Ludwig continued to dislike his father's policy.

¹ The French Minister, Otto, to Talleyrand, 10th Messidor XIII (1805). Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Paris.

² Professor Joh. Nep. Sepp, *Ludwig Augustus König von Bayern und das Zeitalter der Wiedergeburt der Künste*. Regensburg, 1903, p. 13. Sepp does not state how he knew of the remark.

³ *Denkwürdigkeiten des bayrischen Staatsministers Maximilian Grafen von Montgelas 1799-1817*, Stuttgart, 1887, p. 115.

Victory followed victory and brought the Emperor of the French to Vienna and Moravia on 13th November; on the 1st December Ludwig was with him at headquarters. Napoleon drew a sketch of the Russian and French positions on a piece of paper. The following day he gained a brilliant victory in the Battle of the three Emperors at Austerlitz, which resulted in the Peace of Pressburg on the 27th December, 1805. There Bavaria received a rich reward for the position she had adopted. The German Princes were to see what advantages awaited those who threw in their lot with the Conqueror. The Elector of Bavaria, who had secretly feared the result of his daring step, saw himself brilliantly justified in the eyes of his son.

But the ambitions of the victorious Corsican were not yet fulfilled. Immediately after the foundation of his Empire, Napoleon had been desirous of establishing his new dignity yet more firmly by marriage with the old hereditary dynasties of Europe. He himself, unfortunately, was already married, but he had a stepson, the Empress Josephine's son by her first marriage, Eugène Beauharnais, an elegant and pleasant young man of twenty-four, whom Napoleon not only loved but regarded as a clever and reliable tool, though Eugène himself had no idea of what was expected of him. Prince Ludwig had a pretty sister of seventeen, Auguste. It was true that she had been promised to the Hereditary Prince of Baden, and it was also said that she loved him; but that mattered nothing to Napoleon. This noble alliance of his near relative suited him and would help to chain Bavaria to France irrevocably and finally. In the princely family circle the fight raged steadily. Auguste complained bitterly in her letters to her brother that she was to be sacrificed and once even spoke of a 'shameful bond'.¹ 'The unfortunate Princess often fell into swoons which lasted a long time,' the Austrian Count Buol reported.² But nothing was of any avail; Napoleon's victories led to quick decisions. Having broken the resistance of the Czar and Francis II., it was not likely that he would fail to deal with one Princess. Whilst still in Brünn, Napoleon sent for the Bavarian Minister on 2nd December, and notified him that he would publicly ask in Munich for the hand of Auguste for his stepson, as he preferred her to an Austrian Archduchess who had

¹ Maria Probst, *Die Familienpolitik des bayerischen Herrscherhauses zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1933, p. 84.

² Buol to Colloredo, Munich, 8th October, 1805. Vienna St.A.

been offered to him. Napoleon considered that Bavaria had every reason to be thankful, and let it be clearly seen that he would regard a refusal as a personal insult. What that would mean, so soon after Austerlitz, was quite evident. The Elector could do no more. He was entirely in Napoleon's hands; the whole of Bavaria was occupied by the French and, though Maximilian Joseph found it hard to break his daughter's heart, he had no alternative. As so often happens in such cases, the Elector was afraid of settling the matter with his daughter personally and preferred to write to her¹: 'Remember, my dear child, you would not only assure your father's happiness, but also that of your brothers and of Bavaria, which so ardently desires this union!'

That, of course, was not actually true, at least as regards Prince Ludwig; but Auguste was forced to believe it, for was not her brother Ludwig himself chosen by her father to deliver the letter? Even if he had not read the letter, it was obvious that he was aware of its contents. The truth was that his father and Montgelas had brought pressure to bear on him. He was most unwilling and had resisted them for a long time, but finally the overwhelming victories of Napoleon and the fame of his military genius impressed even the Prince and he began to ask himself whether perhaps he was in the wrong and whether his father's policy were not better for the welfare of Bavaria. Ludwig did not urge the matter, he did not try to persuade Auguste, but it was he who brought her the fateful letter. The Princess was desperate. She had never seen this stranger who, although he was called Viceroy of Italy, was not of royal blood and was now being forced upon her by an upstart. She could, however, see no way of escape and, after long struggles and with many tears, she finally gave way. For had not her father written to her that in the event of a refusal Napoleon would be his country's bitter enemy, just as he was now Bavaria's friend? 'If, therefore, my dear father's peace of mind and the happiness of the people depends on this, I will sacrifice myself, however cruel my fate may be.'²

This letter reached the Elector when he was ill in bed as a result of so much agitation. It was Ludwig, therefore, who had to impart the news to the mother of the bridegroom, at that time

¹ Elector Max Joseph to Princess Auguste, Munich, 25th December, 1805. A. du Casse, II, 15.

² Princess Auguste to Elector Max Joseph, Munich, 26th December, 1805. Du Casse, II, 16.

staying in Munich. A courier was immediately dispatched to Napoleon, but the Emperor arrived in Munich on the night of 31st December, 1805. The next morning he wrote as follows: 'To the Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais: Cousin, I have arrived in Munich; I have arranged your marriage with Princess Auguste and already made the announcement. This morning the Princess visited me and I had a long conversation with her. Enclosed is her portrait on a cup; "*Elle est mieux que ça.*"' Two days later he wrote again: 'Cousin! within twelve hours of the receipt of this letter you will leave in great haste and come to Munich.' ¹

The Viceroy obeyed. In the meantime the Emperor thanked the Elector and his family for their difficult decision. The Peace of Pressburg had not merely brought a considerable increase of land and population and made Bavaria independent of the Imperial constitution, but it was now raised to the status of a kingdom. In the forenoon of 1st January, gorgeously attired heralds, accompanied by the Court trumpeters, proclaimed the elevation of Bavaria to a kingdom. Maximilian Joseph thus became His Majesty and the Prince became a Crown Prince. Napoleon had to acknowledge that Ludwig had persuaded his sister, even if *contre cœur*, to agree to the Emperor's wish. He therefore presented the Crown Prince with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and with the words: 'You are my advance guard,' fastened his sword on him. 'This is not exactly a costly treasure,' declared Napoleon, 'but I carried this sword at Austerlitz. Use it to defend your country.'

Scarcely had Eugène Beauharnais received the Emperor's command and entered his travelling coach, than he wrote a letter to the Crown Prince describing 'what an impression of intelligence, goodness and blissful hope' Auguste's picture on the coffee cup had made upon him, and referred to the emotions with which she already inspired him. ²

Magnificent festivities, at which Napoleon was present, took place in Munich to celebrate the victories of the mighty Corsican and the country's newly acquired sovereign rights. On 14th January, 1806, the festivities culminated in the nuptials of Eugène Beauharnais with Princess Auguste. Never before had

¹ Napoleon to the Viceroy Eugène, Munich, 31st December, 1805, and 3rd January, 1806. Du Casse, II, 17.

² Viceroy Eugène to Crown Prince Ludwig. Army Headquarters at Padua, 4th January, 1806. Munich H.A.

Napoleon been seen in so cheerful a mood. In his purple imperial robes he danced the Française at the balls. In his exuberant way the Emperor pinched the ear of the young Crown Prince or slapped him on his thigh. Once he questioned him about Montgelas. Napoleon knew that this Minister and the Crown Prince were in opposite camps. Ludwig wished to be discreet but his feelings ran away with him; he answered frankly: 'The Ministry of Freiherr von Montgelas is no good; the finances are in a bad way and the man is hated throughout the country. I personally have nothing against him, he has done me no harm, but he is overburdened with work.' The Emperor made a grimace and Ludwig added hastily: 'During the last war he behaved well. I have spoken frankly because I trust Your Majesty.'

'You have every reason to do so.'

'Yes, but I beg Your Majesty not to let anyone know what I have just said.'

Napoleon then pinched Ludwig's cheek, not over gently, and said: 'Get along with you, young man; I understand men.'

Sometimes Napoleon was amazingly outspoken. He liked to speak about Austerlitz: 'I am ready to believe that I am cleverer than my opponents, but I must admit that I am helped very much by their stupidity.' He also referred to his Marshals in the following terms: 'I know very well that they are all Jacobins. But they do not venture to do anything whilst under my orders. . . .' The Emperor always appeared in great state in Munich with much wearisome etiquette, not because of his personal liking for such things but with the deliberate intention of creating an impression. 'Do you think that all this etiquette amuses me?' he asked Ludwig. 'No, devil take it all. I like to amuse myself just like any other man. . . .' One of the more pleasing characteristics of this great soldier was his love for little children. He would play for hours on end with Murat's little four-year-old daughter. Laying aside sword and belt, he would dance around the room with the little girl. At such times the mighty conqueror and tyrannical autocrat disappeared and gave place to another being.

With mixed feelings, the Crown Prince attended the wedding of his sister with Beauharnais. It was impossible to stop it. Napoleon remarked frankly to Maximilian Joseph on that occasion: 'If you had not been on my side in this war, Prince Murat would now be King of Bavaria instead of you. And if



CUP WITH A PICTURE OF PRINCESS AUGUSTE.

you had not agreed to let Princess Auguste marry Beauharnais I would have had her carried off by a regiment of cuirassiers.' ¹

The splendour of the victorious Emperor and the fame which French arms had achieved by the overthrow of the two mightiest Empires of Europe could not fail to influence the young Crown Prince. Montgelas redoubled his efforts to bring him entirely into line with French policy. To accomplish this he thought a visit to Paris would be advisable. Ludwig was to be brought under the influence of the splendour of the Court and the might of the Ruler of France. The Minister hoped that after a few months the Crown Prince would return with changed views and entirely under Napoleon's spell.

Ludwig rather dreaded the immediate future, for Napoleon had said to him: 'Your father will transfer his paternal authority to me during your stay in Paris. I shall be able to have you arrested, in fact I shall have powers of life and death over you.' With that the Emperor laughed ironically.

On 16th February, 1806, the Crown Prince arrived in Paris. The whole Imperial Family including Napoleon received him 'affectionately' and showed him every courtesy. Ludwig took up residence in the Tuileries. From his windows he had a wonderful view over the park and the city, and his rooms were arranged in excellent taste. As foreseen by Montgelas, festivity followed festivity to celebrate the proud victories of the Emperor, and Bavaria's Heir Apparent took part in everything. He did not object to the festivities, but the hunting was not so easy. Ludwig was a poor horseman and the Emperor only liked to ride *ventre à terre*. On the first occasion the Crown Prince gave a miserable performance; the second time was rather better, but even so his sympathies were all with the poor buck which was torn to pieces.² Even when parading through a town Napoleon went at a sharp gallop, followed by his magnificent suite; many were knocked down on the way but he did not even glance round. At first Ludwig was invited to the ordinary shooting parties, although he was a poor shot. He was thus afforded an opportunity of admiring the ruthlessness of the Emperor who shot carelessly and endangered the life of both guests and beaters. Marshal

¹ This, like many other remarks about Napoleon, is taken from notes by King Ludwig, bearing no date, under the title: "*Des propos et interrogations que l'Empereur Napoleon a tenues. Je les ai . . . tous entendues de sa bouche.*"

² Crown Prince Ludwig to King Max Joseph, Paris, 16th February, 1806. Munich H.A.

Massena lost an eye in this way and once Ludwig only escaped a similar fate by throwing himself flat on the ground, which example was followed by both Germans and French of his suite. When the Emperor visited Munich in January, 1806, Maximilian Joseph had him handed a gun loaded with blank cartridges because he saw how recklessly his noble guest fired amongst the beaters.

Every Saturday Ludwig dined with the Emperor and had an opportunity of observing Napoleon's rough manner even towards his mother. Jokingly Napoleon said to him: 'My mother is still coquettish,' and he pinched the ear of Madame Mère, as was his favourite habit. There were various indications that she and her daughter-in-law, Josephine, were not the best of friends. On the 2nd March, when there was another family dinner, and Napoleon had kept everyone waiting for an hour and a half, he suddenly turned to Crown Prince Ludwig and asked him: 'Are you betrothed to the Grand Duchess of Russia?'

This was an awkward question, for since Austerlitz the Emperor had not been on good terms with the Russians and would therefore dislike such a marriage for the son of his closest ally. Moreover news had reached Crown Prince Ludwig that there were grave doubts at the Russian Court concerning this proposed marriage.

'I am no longer engaged, at the moment,' was Ludwig's thought, 'but perhaps it would not be wise to say so.' Hesitatingly he answered: 'Yes, Your Majesty.'

Although Ludwig was not in sympathy with the Emperor, he was forced to recognize that no one made better use of his time, for the amount of work Napoleon got through in the day was incredible. 'To be sure,' he added, 'no one makes other people waste so much of their time.' This was a sore subject to the Crown Prince who was accustomed to arrange his whole day most carefully. He had learnt this from his father. 'I am most grateful to you, my dear Papa, that from my earliest youth you have insisted upon my days being fully occupied.'

In his family circle Napoleon was at times abrupt and rude; and at other times he was gay and enjoyed playing games such as blindman's-buff, etc., running hard but quite willing to be caught if someone else was quicker. He would often amuse himself by asking his guests or a page questions on history and would be mightily pleased if one of his princely guests was unable to answer the very first question. That was seldom the case with Ludwig.

He knew more about history than Napoleon, who, in some ways, was quite uneducated. Everyone was very pleasant to the Crown Prince and everything was done to please him, but the Bavarian regarded matters with a critical eye. He noticed with distaste Napoleon's colossal and ruthless vanity. After a visit of nearly two months, Ludwig confessed to his father that he 'was anything but well disposed towards the French'.¹ It was, to say the least of it, a bold and indiscreet act when he visited the grave of the Duke of Enghien at Vincennes, as Napoleon had had the Duke shot for suspected but unproven participation in a plot. Queen Caroline, Ludwig's stepmother, had once been deeply in love with the Duke, but her father had not permitted the marriage because the Duke was poor. From the day that Enghien was murdered she was one of Napoleon's bitterest enemies. Ludwig stood silent at the grave, thinking that perhaps one day his host would reserve a similar fate for him. With a deep sense of shame the Crown Prince realized to what extent his country was enslaved. He understood the Emperor perfectly when the latter repeatedly said to him with a significant smile: 'If I were King of Bavaria, I would use two-thirds of my revenue for the army.'

'I do not think I am wrong in stating,' Ludwig wrote home, 'that Napoleon would like us to throw ourselves into his arms—to do, in fact, whatever he wishes. But I cannot agree.'

Ludwig was startled at many of Napoleon's utterances which gave him swift insight into the man's real mind. Things would come to a pretty pass if he really meant what he said: '*Mon Dieu*—if a man is destined for war, he will have to fight all his life.'²

For the rest, Ludwig revelled in the sight of the treasures heaped up in Paris—spoils of Napoleon's Italian campaign.

His love for the beauties of art, which had been aroused in Rome, still animated him, but he missed the exquisite background of Italy's blue skies. In political matters Ludwig most enjoyed the State Councils, held by the Emperor and attended by the great men of the Empire, when each would state his opinion quite freely and at times with violence. On these occasions the Emperor was wont to speak earnestly and at length with those who differed from him, for he liked to hear himself speak. But

¹ Letters from Crown Prince Ludwig to King Maximilian Joseph from Paris, 27th February and 3rd and 12th March, 1806. Munich H.A.

² Letters from Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, 11th, 13th, and 22nd April and 13th May, 1806. Munich H.A.

sometimes, tired out from over-exertion, his head would nod during the Session. Once at a Council meeting at Saint Cloud the Emperor slept for an hour and a half. 'One would have thought that *ces messieurs* would have moderated their voices during that time,' Ludwig wrote, describing the scene,¹ 'but it was just the opposite; hardly had the Emperor closed his eyes than many of them began to shout and dispute so loudly that one was deafened and could not hear one's own voice. I could not help wondering what it would be like when Napoleon closed his eyes for ever.'

The Emperor certainly made a deep impression upon the Crown Prince, but at the same time he made him uneasy. In this he was not alone. There was, generally speaking, a natural and unaffected atmosphere both at Court and in society. The moment, however, that Napoleon appeared it was as if a sharp frost had suddenly turned the water into ice. This was particularly noticeable when the Monarch made his appearance in his intimate family circle which till then had been most cheerful and friendly. All present seemed to be turned to stone, in spite of the fact that the Emperor laughed and joked a great deal. 'But I never heard him laugh really heartily,' wrote the Crown Prince.² 'His laughter is what the Germans call a *grünes Lachen*.'

Ludwig's long stay in France was disagreeable to him on account of the Czar, and just at this time Maximilian Joseph sent a message that, in view of the Bavarian alliance with France, he no longer regarded the agreement concerning his son's marriage as binding. In spite of this, Ludwig made up his mind not to marry until the Grand Duchess Katharina should have married someone else. He asked *Geheimrat* von Kaeser, Secretary of the King's Cabinet, in confidence, 'Shall I take any steps with regard to the alliance with the Grand Duchess which I still desire so ardently?'

The *Geheimrat* did not dissuade him and even sent Ludwig the draft of a letter which he might write to the Czar. The matter was a very delicate one as Russia was in the enemy camp and Maximilian Joseph might not approve. It would be best to keep him in ignorance. The Crown Prince, therefore, dispatched the following letter to the Czar without his father's knowledge.³

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Paris, 17th June, 1806. Munich H.A.

² From Crown Prince Ludwig's own description of his visit to Paris in 1806. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to Czar Alexander I, *minute exécutée*, Paris, 10th April, 1806. Munich H.A. Also *Geheimrat* von Kaeser to King Max Joseph, Munich, 11th October, 1806. Munich H.A. And Count Stadion's report to Vienna, 21st March, 1807, and 2nd May, 1808. Vienna St.A.

'Your Majesty! My heart, which truly adores your Imperial Majesty, was filled with deep sorrow at the part played by Bavaria in the last war. I beg you, Sire, not to regard this expression of my feelings as mere empty phrases. I heartily abominated this step. The thought of the joy of one day becoming a member of Your Majesty's family has been firmly rooted in my heart for the past six years. The news which I have now received causes me to fear that Your Majesty's intentions regarding me have changed. I know that Your Imperial Majesty has been informed that I persuaded my sister Auguste into her marriage, and was instrumental in bringing it about. I give your Imperial Majesty my word of honour that I did neither the one nor the other. I merely handed her a letter from my father.'

Geheimrat Kaeser was instructed to inform Ludwig's step-mother, who was known to belong to the anti-Napoleon party, of this matter and beg her to take steps to prevent the King from hearing of it. The Queen was very ill and could not be informed as the Crown Prince had desired, nor could the letter be sent to St. Petersburg through her sister, the Princess Amalie of Baden. As a result, it fell into the hands of Bavarian diplomats who decided to send it to Munich, at the same time requesting the Crown Prince to confess the whole matter to his father. This he did; Maximilian Joseph was indignant and particularly hurt that his son had shown more confidence in his stepmother than in his own father. The attempt came to nothing, yet in spite of everything Ludwig did not give up hope of the Russian marriage.

Napoleon did not wish the Crown Prince to marry a Grand Duchess. He did not know whom he wished him to marry, but someone would be found in whom the Emperor of the French had political interests. One fine day the fateful cup with a picture would arrive and Ludwig would be forced to marry. It was for this reason that, in spite of the present poor prospects, Ludwig emphasized to Napoleon his desire to marry the Grand Duchess Katharina. The Emperor, however, took every opportunity of inveighing against the family of the Czar. One day he said:

'What about your Russian? Why do you want to have anything to do with such a foreigner?'

But when in June, 1806, there were prospects of peace between Russia and France, Napoleon suddenly asked Ludwig:

'When are you going to be married?'

'I do not know.'

'Will the Grand Duchess change her religion?'

'No, in these days we have got beyond such things.'

'Then you have no religion?'

'Indeed I have, and nothing in the world would make me change it; but one must be tolerant.'

'So you would let your wife be condemned to everlasting damnation?'

'I do not believe in that. Our religion does not condemn those who think differently.'

In truth, this marriage did not suit Napoleon's plans. He did not attach much importance to the matter of religion. That was only pretence. On another occasion he had discussed Protestants and Catholics with Ludwig and declared that the former were far less tolerant than the Catholics, but he finished with the remark: 'All religions are the same to us as long as they preach morality.' From Napoleon's every word it was obvious that he only wanted whatever might be useful to him. Ludwig noticed the strange and oft-repeated questions about the Grand Duchess Katharina, but did not know the real reason for them. Napoleon was, even at that time, contemplating divorce from the Empress Josephine, who was of no particular importance to him politically and had not presented him with an heir. He would then be free to contract an alliance with a Princess of one of the oldest and mightiest royal houses in Europe, who would bring to him the tradition he lacked, as well as the political power of her country. In this respect the Czar's sister, Grand Duchess Katharina, appeared, at the moment, peculiarly suitable, for in addition to her natural cleverness she possessed great beauty. Thus was explained the ironic interest which Napoleon showed in Ludwig's marriage plans.

The Emperor, in conversation, touched on Ludwig's private life without the slightest reticence. He had heard that Ludwig had some sort of connection with Madame de Staël, the famous daughter of the great financier, Necker. She had aroused the dislike of the Corsican by her outspoken literary work and was living in exile in Switzerland.

'Have you ever seen Madame de Staël?' Napoleon asked one day, *à propos* of nothing.

'Yes, Sire, in Geneva.'

'Did you not pay her a visit?'

'Yes, at her country house on the Lake of Geneva.'

'Were you in love with her?'

'You cannot believe, Sire, that I have such bad taste. She is extraordinarily ugly and has a skin like an Egyptian.'

Tactfully the Emperor pursued his questions: 'Are you being very good just now? Who is your mistress?'

'No one, Sire.'

'Nonsense! Tell me.'

'I have no one in particular, Sire. I won't say that I am a model of virtue, but I do things in moderation.'

Napoleon repeated these indiscreet questions nearly every week. Even the Empress occasionally referred to these delicate matters. 'I know perfectly well that a young unmarried man cannot be entirely virtuous,' she declared. Josephine was very anxious to win his confidence and constantly repeated: 'My son always confessed everything to me.'

On the whole, Napoleon took some trouble to win over the Crown Prince. But he and Ludwig often said things to each other that neither of them really meant. 'We like you in Paris,' the Emperor said to him once.

'If Your Majesty is satisfied with me, that is worth more to me than the opinion of all the others.'

Directly after this conversation Ludwig noted this answer in his diary and added in brackets: 'If he were aware of my real feelings, he would certainly not like me. Napoleon tramples under foot the most sacred rights; he has always done so, and will continue to do so whenever he finds an opportunity. Yet in spite of all, this man can, at times, arouse my admiration—but only for the moment. The increase of power with which he has endowed our House has nothing to do with this.'

'How does your father treat you in money matters?' the Emperor went on to ask. 'If you need money I will let you have it. How much does he allow you?'

'As much as I want.'

Napoleon thought that money would buy everything. The Crown Prince realized this, and was quite determined that even in case of necessity he would turn to anyone rather than to the Emperor. This conversation had the effect of making Ludwig even more distrustful of Napoleon. In the meantime, his father, the King of Bavaria, as well as the Princes of a number of States in the West of Germany, had come still further under French domination through the founding of the Rhine Confederation

(*Rheinbund*) under Napoleon's protection. That the members of this Confederation were in reality merely vassals was shown by their obligation to join France in all wars on the Continent and to obey the call to arms. Bavaria had to guarantee to place 30,000 men under arms. Maximilian Joseph and Montgelas were far from being pleased with the Confederation, but they could not help themselves; they could only agree. France was now a far greater menace than Austria had formerly been. A large number of Bavarians, whose suppressed national feelings were awakening, began to share Ludwig's opinion.

The Emperor Francis could not prevent this development; he himself, after the defeat of 1805, was driven back to his own inherited dominions and Hungary; he renounced the dignity of the German Imperial Crown and contented himself with the title of Emperor of Austria. Prussia watched with horror the growth of Napoleon's power; so did Czar Alexander, although his Delegate, Oubril, had just signed a treaty in Paris on 20th July, 1806, whereby Napoleon undertook that within three months all those of his troops which were still occupying practically the whole of South Germany should be withdrawn.

During the afternoon of the same day the Emperor remarked suddenly to Ludwig, as if the matter were quite an ordinary affair:

'I signed a peace with Russia this morning.'

'That is excellent news which Your Majesty gives me,' replied Ludwig, pleasantly excited.

Whereupon the Emperor turned to Josephine and said: 'How glad he is; he is thinking of his little Russian.' And turning to Ludwig: 'When will you get married?'

'I do not know, but not this year.'

'How old are you?'

'I shall be twenty on the 25th August.'

'Then you are still quite a fledgeling.'

'But Sire!'

'But you are not even of age yet.'

'I came of age at eighteen.'

At this moment a court carriage drove up; the Emperor and Empress and Ludwig got in. Outriders, pages, and Rustan, the Emperor's mameluke, rode beside it. As usual the drive was through the Park. Napoleon spoke of his methods of administration. 'My principle is to be a devil at first and then get

gradually gentler. But,' he added smiling, 'my heart is in my brain.'

The atmosphere of the whole Court was dependent largely on the Emperor's moods. At table everyone watched his expression, which varied from boisterous gaiety to a grimness which was often terrifying. Once he considered that the Empress was wearing too little jewelry at dinner and reproached her with covering the greater part of her beautiful diamonds with her hair. 'I have told you so frequently,' he shouted, enraged, 'and it has no effect.' 'When you marry,' he said, turning to Crown Prince Ludwig, 'don't allow your wife to have moods.'

The Emperor was usually in his best mood directly after dining; that was the right time to approach him or to make a request. The members of his family took advantage of this, particularly his sisters. Often he would take them aside and speak to them for a long time, half hidden behind the window curtains. Ludwig noticed how the beautiful Pauline Borghese in particular caressed him and sat on his knee. The Bavarian Heir Apparent critically watched Napoleon's every move. He realized that he was extremely vain and eager to do everything to ensure that posterity should appreciate all he did. The picture which portrayed Bonaparte in Jaffa, touching a soldier's plague-boil while General Bessières, who accompanied him, pressed his handkerchief to his mouth as safeguard, was, at Napoleon's order, removed from the gallery and hung in the room where he held audiences and where diplomats and high officials from all over the world were received. The decoration of the private chapel annoyed Ludwig most of all. The sign of the Saviour was hardly anywhere in evidence whilst the ostentatious imperial N. met the eye at every turn and proclaimed the bad taste of this upstart. 'Napoleon seeks fame for one man only and that man is himself.' With these words Ludwig closed his observations.¹

The visit of the Bavarian Crown Prince was nearly over. It was his intention to travel to Spain and in accordance with the wish of both the Emperor and his father to broach the question of a marriage between his sister and the Spanish heir to the Throne. The latter was not to be given much time for reflection. Before leaving the Court at Paris, Ludwig was anxious to remind Max

¹ The foregoing descriptions are taken from notes made by Crown Prince Ludwig when in Paris, between 10th February and 26th August, 1806. He vouched for the truth of all his statements, and added: '*J'ai écrit toutes ces notes scrupuleusement.*'

Joseph that the question of his marriage with the Russian Grand Duchess was still undecided.

In the early days of September, 1806, after a stay of almost seven months, Ludwig left Napoleon's capital. At the parting the Emperor, as was sometimes the case, was noticeably outspoken. Contrary to his usual custom, he talked frankly of his real intentions and plans. Ludwig went first to Switzerland. 'I liked being in Paris,' he wrote to his father from Geneva¹; 'but I was not at all sorry when I left; how gladly I exchange the capital for the beauties of nature. I breathe more freely away from the Imperial City. . . . The French fear Napoleon—they do not love him.' Montgelas' hope that the Crown Prince would be won over to Napoleon and his policy had been disappointed. The Minister had to admit² that Ludwig left the French capital with increased dislike of the Emperor's rule and that in return the Emperor entertained no very favourable opinion of the Bavarian heir.

The Crown Prince then went to see his sister, the wife of Eugène Beauharnais, in Milan. Contrary to all expectations, she was supremely happy. The Viceroy studied her wishes in every way. 'I found my dear old Auguste³ just the same as she always was; mentally she is unchanged, but physically she has improved. It is remarkable how she has grown, she has filled out and has a good colour; she has regular *pfalzgräfliche* cheeks, and her plumpness suits her well. What pleases me most of all is that she is happy with her husband. She is universally popular.'

Whilst the Crown Prince was on his travels, decisive political events were taking place. Czar Alexander rejected the treaty of the 20th July and, acting with Prussia, which appeared to be the only German State capable of opposing the presumptuous foreign conqueror, was planning to go to war against Napoleon. The Emperor of the French had not moved his troops from South Germany and the Rhine as he had promised, and the menace to Prussia from that direction was intolerable; there was imminent danger of war. Crown Prince Ludwig watched this development from afar with great anxiety. He dreaded the civil war that might result if his country were forced to fight with Napoleon against Prussia. Prospects were very bad. 'I beg you,' Ludwig wrote to Maximilian Joseph,⁴ 'for the love I have to you and to our loyal

¹ Ludwig to Maximilian Joseph, Geneva, 7th September, 1806. Munich H.A.
² Montgelas, p. 130.

³ Ludwig to Maximilian Joseph, Monza, 19th September, 1806. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig to Maximilian Joseph, Milan, 23rd September, 1806. Munich H.A.

Bavarians, not to send your troops out of your kingdom, not a single man . . . : if war should break out with Prussia, it would be terrible for us.'

This had, however, become unavoidable. That State sent an ultimatum to Napoleon on the 1st October, 1806. The Corsican replied by invasion.

In the meanwhile the Crown Prince remained, all unsuspecting, in Italy and the South of France. One day, tired out by sight-seeing amongst the Roman remains of the town, he fell asleep at Nîmes near the Temple of Diana. He was awakened by the shrewish voices of two old washerwomen who, in the broadest *patois*, requested him to keep an eye on their things, as they had some commissions in town. Much amused, Ludwig consented; the women departed and the Crown Prince of Bavaria watched over the washing spread out to dry. Suspicious-looking people passed by. Ludwig, with a stick in his hand, took up a threatening attitude in front of the shirts and pants fluttering in the breeze. Time went by, the sun had already set, and it was long past the dinner hour when the old women came back and Ludwig was able to leave his position of trust.

He continued his journey towards the Spanish frontier when, like a flash, the decision was given against the Prussians in the double battle of Jena and Auerstädt. Bavarian troops only covered the flanks in these actions. Thirteen days later Napoleon marched into Berlin. Once again his power had increased immeasurably. The Crown Prince of Bavaria was naturally much alarmed, and in his own country it was universally rumoured that he was only absent on distant journeys because he disapproved of the policy of his father and his chief ministers. The Bavarian Minister in Paris also reported that Napoleon was much annoyed that the Crown Prince Ludwig was travelling about the world whilst there was war in the north. This decided Maximilian Joseph to recall his son immediately and send him to join the Emperor in Berlin, as in this way Bavaria might secure advantages. He was helped in this project by the Crown Prince, who just before crossing the Pyrenees, wrote that he feared that his failure to take part in the campaign might possibly be ascribed to lack of courage. 'That would cause me the most grievous distress,' he wrote.¹

Immediately upon receipt of his father's letter, Ludwig cut

¹ Ludwig to his father, Marseilles, 2nd December, 1806. Munich H.A.

short his journey to Spain and left for Berlin. Maximilian Joseph was delighted at his son's obedience and begged him not to let his detestation of Napoleon be apparent. 'I thank you most heartily, my dearest Louis, for your willingness,' he answered by return.¹ 'Bavaria will bless you for ever for this. . . . Remember, he suspects only too easily your dislike for him; that is the reason why I am sending you to him; but, dear child, the fate of Bavaria now lies in your hands.'

Ludwig arrived at the Prussian capital at the New Year and found it in a state of extreme despair. The King and Queen had fled, the French Generals occupied the best palaces, and Napoleon's troops were living on the fat of the land at the expense of the town. These were sad sights for the Crown Prince. Where were the proud days of Frederick the Great? Ludwig visited Johann Gottfried Schadow, who had been the famous court sculptor in the days of Frederick, and as solace ordered a statue of that illustrious monarch. He could not stay long—he had to go to Napoleon's headquarters at Warsaw. The Emperor was trying to stir up the Poles with the thought of independence and to drag them into war with Russia. On 25th January, Ludwig arrived at Warsaw. There he was handed a letter from his brother-in-law, Eugène Beauharnais. King Maximilian Joseph had written to his son-in-law, and Auguste had also daily begged her husband to appeal to her brother. Whilst Ludwig was in Paris the King had been particularly afraid of his son's outspoken comments and, now that he was once more to be with Napoleon, this anxiety was renewed.

The Viceroy Eugène acceded to these requests and wrote to Ludwig²: 'It was with great pleasure, my dear brother, that I learned of your journey to join the *Grande Armée*. There you will witness a magnificent spectacle and take part in one of the finest schools of war in the world. . . . Have entire confidence in the goodness of the Emperor, endeavour to secure his goodwill; it is of importance for your family and will be indispensable both for you and for the people over whom you will rule. . . . In the matter of candour—by that I mean in regard to the Emperor—sometimes it is necessary to dissemble. I can see you getting angry. A frown appears at the mention of this word. And yet, after all, what does it amount to? Simply not to say what one thinks, that is all. . . . In the *entourage* of Royalty there are always

¹ Maximilian Joseph to Ludwig, Munich 18th December, 1806. Munich H.A.

² Viceroy Eugène to Ludwig, Milan, 16th January, 1807. Munich H.A.

those who weigh every slightest word, discuss it, interpret it, contradict and twist it. I advise you, my dear Louis, to find pleasure in military matters. In these days, and for a long time to come, kings will have to be soldiers.'

This lecture showed how great was the anxiety in Munich that one day a clash might come between the Crown Prince and Napoleon, which would have dire results for Bavaria and its Royal House. But neither this letter from Eugène nor the personal influence of Napoleon, who showed himself with great pomp in Warsaw, were able to alter Ludwig's opinions. 'The Emperor received me very kindly,' he wrote to his father,¹ 'so that I was sorry to be forced to have such a bad opinion of him, but his own actions were and are the cause of this. . . . You see, dearest Papa, I have obeyed you and come here, however much it has cost me to do so. . . .'

The Crown Prince was ready to appear with great pomp in Warsaw. In order not to be outdone by the French Princes, he asked for silver and china to be sent. He wished to show people that he was somebody in himself and not, like the others, merely a recipient of Napoleon's favour. With his sociable nature Ludwig enjoyed the great festivities arranged by the Polish aristocracy in honour of the Emperor. The aristocracy had not yet learned that the Frenchman was doing everything for his own ends and not for love of Poland. At a ball given by Count Potocki the Crown Prince of Bavaria opened the ball with the beautiful wife of Count Anastasius Walewski, to whom he was much attracted. Here he found he had the same taste as the Corsican. Napoleon smiled as he watched him; he would be able to oust this rival too, not only by his power and magnificence, but by his personality. The Crown Prince was fast falling in love with Maria Walewska when he was suddenly cured by Freiherr von Dalberg, who informed him that in response to a simple invitation by Napoleon to visit him at headquarters at Finkenstein, the Countess, wearing a little pink bonnet, had gone there without any hesitation.

The tranquil life at Warsaw was, however, merely an interlude. On the banks of the Vistula fighting continued, and on the 7th and 8th of February, 1807, the indecisive battle of Preussisch-Eylau took place with terrible losses on both sides. As at Jena, the Bavarian troops were merely used to cover strategic flanks of Napoleon's army and in so doing they conquered Silesia. 'There

¹ Ludwig to Maximilian Joseph, Warsaw, 30th January, 1807. Munich H.A.

were no French soldiers there,' Ludwig reported¹; 'but to offset that a great number of Generals, who were heaped with honours on every possible occasion, and were appointed to all remunerative posts, etc. . . .'

The Crown Prince was appointed to take over command of the second Bavarian Division, which had fought there. On this occasion he issued an army order to the troops which was necessarily in line with the policy of the King's Government, but not with Ludwig's own opinions. As the regiments marched past him at Warsaw, he felt glad to be once more amongst his Bavarians whom he loved and who loved him; but he asked himself: 'How many of you will ever see your homes again? You will not die for your Fatherland but will be slaughtered because of Napoleon's unappeasable ambition. . . .' Talleyrand, who was in Warsaw, was aware of the Crown Prince's sentiments and did not at all agree with his taking over independent command of the Bavarian Division. The Frenchman, on the contrary, had urged Napoleon to have Ludwig with him at headquarters, where it would be possible to keep a close watch upon him. On 30th March the Crown Prince gave a big ball. On that occasion Talleyrand handed him his master's letter with the words: 'The Emperor has commanded me to inform you that you are shortly to join him at headquarters.'

'In his letter, however, he makes no mention of this, and I leave early to-morrow morning, as I am writing to tell the Emperor, to join my troops on the other side of the Vistula.'

'You must first await His Majesty's reply.'

'No, I did not ask the Emperor's permission. I have merely informed him that I am leaving to-morrow. It is my duty to be with the troops I command.'

'No,' replied Talleyrand angrily, 'it is your duty to do what the Emperor wishes.'

In the meantime the Emperor had received Ludwig's letter. He remarked in astonishment: 'But Talleyrand wrote that the Crown Prince had expressed a wish to be with me at headquarters.' Ludwig did not know what to think. 'Which of them has lied is uncertain,' he remarked, 'but one of them has. Both are capable of lying and I trust neither.'²

Napoleon and Talleyrand finally agreed, for the sake of peace, to leave Ludwig nominally in command of the Bavarian Division,

¹ Ludwig to Maximilian Joseph, Warsaw, 12th March, 1807. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig to Maximilian I Joseph, Pultusk, 1st May, 1807. Munich H.A.

but to attach General Wrede to him with such powers that the actual command lay in his hands. In addition, Marshal Massena was instructed to keep a special watch on the attitude and employment of the Bavarian troops. The distrust of the Prince felt at French headquarters was well justified. For at that time, March, 1807, there was a poem written secretly by Ludwig which began: 'Up *Teutschen!* Burst the chains with which a Corsican has fettered you.' In desperation the Crown Prince complained that his countrymen were forced to fight for a man who had enslaved them and not for their own homes.¹

After its quick Eylau campaign, the French army remained in winter quarters until May. The Bavarian Division was in the area south of Pultusk, practically on the extreme right flank of the French army which the Russians were planning to capture by an attack at the beginning of May. On the 10th of May, fighting began for the command of the Narew. Matters became serious. Crown Prince Ludwig, whose headquarters were at Pultusk, realized that his Division might become the centre of considerable fighting. He meditated upon what would happen in Bavaria if he should fall on the battlefield, and on 13th May, 1807, made a will which was to be a guide for the new heir to the throne.²

'To my dear brother Karl! Stand firm! If I should die then . . . you will one day do what it is my dearest wish to do . . . strive to make our Bavarians happy. Be devout, let religion be taught . . . the Ruler and the people have need of it. . . . The first-named most of all, for otherwise what is to restrain him? Do not follow so-called politics, but follow justice. . . . Whatever happens do not rob your people of more freedom than is absolutely necessary; freedom is a beautiful thing. . . . Above all, dear Karl, be an honest man, an honest king. Do not trust Austria altogether; at the present moment trust no country. And never, never trust Napoleon. He may talk to you with the most deceptive friendliness, promise to give you what you want, but never trust him. Consider well what I have written here. I love Bavaria, you and our father, who is the best of fathers; always be a good son to him, and above all love God. My last farewell! Ludwig, Crown Prince.'

¹ *An die Teutschen im März, 1807.* Poems of Ludwig I, I, 55.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his brother Karl, Pultusk, 13th May, 1807. Munich H.A.

After composing this document the Heir Apparent felt calmer. On 14th May the Bavarian Division crossed the Narew to protect a bridgehead. It was immediately attacked. On the 16th fighting took place at Pultusk with the result that the Russians were thrown back and the captured positions consolidated. During the crossing and also during the counter-attack, Crown Prince Ludwig was constantly under heavy fire. For the first time he smelt powder in an obstinate and bloody battle, throughout which his Bavarians behaved with great bravery. 'Two emotions fill my heart, dear father,' Ludwig wrote home; 'deepest sorrow for those who have fallen, and hatred of Napoleon. It is remarkable how much the Russians know—even that we are not fighting for Napoleon's sake. If Satan were to take human form, he would, I feel sure, be Napoleon. In spite of these sentiments, I think I may say that I . . . did not bear myself unworthily.'

This outpouring again aroused great misgivings in Maximilian Joseph. 'I will not refer to your dislike of the Emperor,' he wrote to his son¹; 'think what you like, but I only ask you not to forget that we owe our increase of power to him alone, that he can continue to augment it and, when peace comes, either do us great harm, or bring us great advantages. We will endeavour to make ourselves independent again some day. I therefore beg you on my knees never to let the slightest sign of your dislike be apparent; otherwise all is lost.'

At that time Ludwig had little opportunity of betraying his feelings as he was still in the field and lived much the same life as the ordinary soldier. For five days and nights, in bad weather, he never had his clothes off his back, and was scarcely able to obtain necessary food. Thus he learned the real nature of war.

In the meantime Napoleon defeated the Russians in the north at the battle of Friedland. Honour had now been fully satisfied. The Crown Prince was overwhelmed with praise from all sides and his father gave him the Grand Cross of the Max Joseph Order. Ludwig thanked him, but declared that it would have pleased him still more if he had really deserved it.² Then followed the famous meeting on the Niemen between Czar Alexander I,

¹ Maximilian I Joseph to Ludwig, Nymphenburg, 7th June, 1807. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to King Maximilian I Joseph, Kolaki, 6 miles from the Russian frontier, 27th June, 1807. Munich H.A.

the Emperor of the French and the King and Queen of Prussia, where Napoleon won over the Czar by holding out prospects of a division of world power. On 9th July the Peace of Tilsit was signed, by which Prussia was forced to hand over an enormous tract of territory with approximately five million inhabitants—more than half her total population. The last powerful State in Germany, which could have taken the field against Napoleon, was beaten to its knees and the new kingdom of Westphalia, after being created from ceded territory, was naturally drawn into the Rhine Confederation. The Emperor of the French was at the height of his power, but it was shortly to be seen that he lacked the most important postulate for continued greatness—moderation in victory. Crown Prince Ludwig for the moment only saw the end of the war. 'There is peace!' he cried.¹ 'May it last, may it endure; that is my dearest wish.'

Crown Prince Ludwig was summoned by Napoleon to attend the negotiations in Tilsit. Czar Alexander was very pleasant, in fact almost friendly to him, but never mentioned the question of marriage. He had just attempted, with great severity but without much result, to dissuade his sister Katharina from marrying the twice widowed Emperor Francis of Austria. 'My brother thinks him old,' she said. 'Thirty-eight is not old. He says he is ugly. I would never worry about a man's good looks. He is dirty? Well, I will wash him. Foolish and sulky? Perhaps he was in 1805, but in future he will not be, for it was only events that made him appear so.'²

The King of Prussia, sad and depressed as he was, behaved with great coolness and reserve. He treated the Bavarian Heir Apparent as though the latter were the representative of the State which had betrayed Germany and Prussia. Only Queen Louise made any impression upon Napoleon: she was no longer in the full bloom of youth but was still very beautiful.

'That is a woman of great intelligence,' the Emperor remarked to Ludwig. 'If she wore the breeches she would arrange matters very differently. The King is a fool.' Ludwig was indignant at this remark, but had to listen without comment.

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Hompesch, Warsaw, 16th July, 1807. Munich H.A.

² Empress Maria Feodorowna to Czar Alexander, *Correspondance de l'empereur Alexandre I^{er} avec sa sœur la grandeduchesse Catherine, princesse d'Oldenbourg, puis reine de Wurtemberg*. Publiée par le grand-duc Nicolas-Michailowitsch, Paris-St. Petersburg, 1910.

'The peace was signed an hour ago,' he reported to his father on 8th July.¹ 'You, dear Papa, secure Bayreuth.'

That was certainly very little. There was great disappointment in Munich; much more had been expected. Montgelas, who was well aware of the Crown Prince's attitude, was inclined to blame him for having failed to obtain more for Bavaria.

Ludwig had some idea of these sentiments; they were reported to him from several quarters. For that reason he did not hurry home and stayed some time in Berlin where, directly he laid aside the sword, he resumed his favourite peace-time occupation—the study of art. Accompanied by Dillis,² for whom he had sent, he visited the most celebrated sculptors in Berlin and inspected their work. It was unavoidable that politics should be mentioned, and the artists heard with surprise in what terms the Crown Prince of Bavaria—whose country was closely allied with France, and who had just returned from taking part in a campaign with Napoleon—referred to the complete overthrow of Prussia, the disintegration and impotence of Germany, and the arrogance of the Corsican. The latter had at this time attained his object—French predominance on the Continent—and they were all astonished that Ludwig deplored this openly and declared it to be a hateful and terrible position for every German. He was helpless and could do nothing to prevent it, but felt he must give expression in some way to the feelings with which he was animated in this period of deepest humiliation. In his mind's eye he saw the busts of the great Germans of all time set up in a temple of glory which *he* would one day erect. The Crown Prince's German heart beat high. If Napoleon at the zenith of his power was not able to win him over to his side, neither he nor anyone else would ever be able to do so.

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Maximilian Joseph, Tilsit, 8th July, and Warsaw, 16th July, 1807. Munich H.A.

² Georg von Dillis—a noted art connoisseur.

TOWARDS LIBERATION

1807-9

The Crown Prince returned home the same sworn foe of Napoleon that he had been at the outset of the campaign, although the Corsican had overcome even the mighty Czar. The Austrian Minister considered that Ludwig had improved in every way.¹ His appearance was more manly, his bearing courteous, and the people were frankly delighted to see him again. A reception given in his honour at the *Schauspielhaus* afforded an opportunity of demonstrating the really touching devotion inspired by the young prince. He was still slightly embarrassed in manner, particularly because he missed much of what was said; but the impediment in his speech had lessened. Considering his twenty-one years, he showed in those difficult times an upright character and rare candour, and he held and adhered to clearly expressed views.

It was only in society, when naturally all eyes were constantly turned on the Crown Prince, that Ludwig still fell a little short. Many of his utterances were surprising and embarrassed the persons to whom they were addressed. In particular his attitude towards the opposite sex occasionally showed a lack of deference which betrayed the fact that he had not always frequented the society of gentlewomen. It was also said that he was not very generous in money matters. On the other hand, the Crown Prince showed the greatest eagerness to acquaint himself with everything; he had an excellent memory, learned languages eagerly and quickly, and was able to express himself well in both French and Italian. At times he was too hasty, as was natural at his age, but immediately afterwards he regretted it and made amends. His love for art led him to devote the greater part of his money to this purpose.

The Prince was not at all in agreement with the policy pursued at that time, but his respect for his father and his own natural

¹ Canon *Graf* Friedrich Lothar von Stadion to Vienna, Munich, 11th and 20th September, 1807, and 1st February, 1808. Vienna St.A.

prudence kept him within bounds. When, however, things became unbearable, Ludwig did not hesitate to show openly his disapproval of the line taken by Montgelas. The latter realized this and began to consider how he could again secure the removal of this embarrassing Crown Prince from Munich. Montgelas gave him no peace. The King and his Minister decided to leave in November for Italy where Napoleon was then staying, and Ludwig had to accompany them. He and Montgelas travelled in advance and joined the Emperor's suite which was on its way to Vienna by sea. As if the heavens wished to indicate that the Conqueror's visit was no pleasurable event for Italy, dark clouds gathered and with a heavy sea running the ship was only with great difficulty able to enter the harbour of the City of the Lagoons. A magnificent reception had been prepared, but there was no cordiality. It was evident that the people had no heart in the festivities. Ludwig watched everything critically.

The Prince accompanied the Emperor in a magnificently decorated galley through the Grand Canal on the 29th November, 1807. The festivities did not interest Ludwig; on the contrary, they jarred upon him. He found it humiliating that his presence should enhance the splendour and fame of the Conqueror. This feeling increased when, in the company of his parents, he went on to Milan where not only Ludwig but also the King, his father, had to play the rôle of courtier.

In Milan, amongst other things, the future of the two children of the Bavarian King came up for discussion. The Princess Charlotte at the age of sixteen was still a child, rather short and not at all pretty, her face disfigured by smallpox, but with a sweet expression; she was modest, distinguished, and very likeable. The eligible Princes of the Rhine Confederation, however, who were dependent upon Napoleon, were filled with alarm. The affair of Princess Auguste's cup had been well discussed, and in the meantime also the Hereditary Prince of Baden had been obliged to marry Stefanie Beauharnais in 1806. It can be understood, therefore, that the Crown Prince of Württemberg lived in dread that one day he too would receive the fateful cup from Paris on which would be the picture of some relative of Napoleon. If, therefore, he wished to escape marrying a Frenchwoman, there was no alternative for him but to become engaged as quickly as possible to some German Princess of the Rhine Confederation. So Crown Prince Wilhelm of Württemberg paid his court to Ludwig's sister

Charlotte, although he had never seen her. This marriage was discussed with Napoleon at Milan. The Emperor had no objection to it and was very gracious to the Bavarian Royal Family; towards Ludwig alone he remained ironical.

This fresh association with the Emperor of the French only served to increase Ludwig's hatred, if such a thing were possible. It annoyed him intensely when one day the Corsican called out boastfully across the table to the King of Bavaria: 'If England will not make peace with me, I shall be in London in two years' time.'¹

The Crown Prince realized that Napoleon did not wish his Russian marriage to take place, but he did not know what important reasons there were against it. The Chevalier de Bray, Bavarian Minister in St. Petersburg, meanwhile had been able to reopen serious negotiations regarding the marriage, and the Czarina, sister of the Queen of Bavaria, had never quite given up the plan. But Maximilian Joseph feared to come to a decision without reference to Napoleon, and Napoleon did not reply. This silence was interpreted as a refusal, and the Russian proposals were rejected² with the remark that it had been understood that the agreement had previously been cancelled. Ludwig, however, continued to hope. It could hardly be considered an affair of the heart with him as he had never seen the Grand Duchess and at that moment was very much in love with a dancer, Regina H., whom he had met during the autumn at a concert at Nymphenburg. His ambition alone, and the feeling that a Crown Prince should contract an alliance of political significance for his country, made him persistent as regards the Russian Grand Duchess.

During this time the influence of Montgelas in State affairs in Bavaria increased steadily. Ludwig had to look on while the Monarch himself was reduced to the level of a servant of the State; limits were set to his power and the assent of responsible Ministers was required for every enactment. The Crown Prince felt himself personally affected and his most sacred rights violated—admittedly for the moment these rights belonged to his father, but later they would be his. Yet he could do nothing to prevent what was taking place. He took refuge in his emotions:

¹ From notes made by Ludwig during his visit to Milan in December, 1807. Munich H.A.

² Montgelas, pp. 162 and 163.

'In thought alone doth man become aware
How vain his knowledge and how void his life.
Only to him whose heart can deeply feel
Can happiness be given.'

About this time the marriage of Ludwig's sister Charlotte with the Crown Prince of Württemberg took place. It was noticeable both to Ludwig and to everyone else that the bridegroom treated his young wife with conspicuous coldness and indifference. Immediately after the ceremony he said to her: 'We are the victims of politics.' This was much discussed and was considered to offer no favourable prospect for the future wedded happiness of the couple.¹ On their departure from Munich the Prince did not even share his wife's carriage. This behaviour was the more remarkable as the initiative for the marriage had been his. With some misgivings Ludwig saw his favourite sister depart. He begged her to keep him informed of her affairs: 'Everything that concerns you is of the greatest interest to me.' The friendship between brother and sister was real and close.

Very soon it was reported in Munich that the marriage was not a success. The Crown Prince wished to leave for Switzerland, but first he wanted to know how much truth there was in the rumour. From his kind reception by the King of Württemberg he was inclined to think that the Munich gossip had been exaggerated. At the same time his letter to his father did not sound very reassuring: 'The Crown Prince is very civil to Charlotte.'² That was hardly the attitude of a man who had been married a month. After this visit the Bavarian Crown Prince made a six weeks' tour of Switzerland.

Meanwhile events of importance to the whole of Europe had taken place in Spain and Portugal and had considerably affected Napoleon's plans. During the spring he had occupied Portugal with a handful of soldiers and had forced the Royal House of Braganza to fly to Brazil. A similar fate was reserved for Spain. But for this to be brought about the Emperor had to be safeguarded in the north, where he was constantly exposed to attack by either Austria or Prussia. He therefore invited the Czar, who loved pomp and show, on a visit to him in Erfurt on the 27th of September, 1808. A great number of other Princes, among them the King of Bavaria, were also to be there in order that the

¹ The Austrian Minister, Dolle, to Vienna, Munich, 13th June, 1808. Vienna St.A.

² Ludwig to King Maximilian Joseph, Lindau, 20th July, 1808. Munich H.A.

meeting should have a brilliant setting. Ludwig had by this time returned from Switzerland. Private information about the difficulties which had arisen for Napoleon in Spain made a deep impression upon him. It seemed as if the dawn were approaching. Ludwig's hatred for the arrogant Corsican and his sorrow for the yoke imposed upon his country grew deeper.

The thought that Bavarian troops might be employed against Spain was unbearable to Ludwig. He told his entourage that he would publicly oppose any such demand by Napoleon and do his utmost to prevent it. Count Stadion, the Minister of the Emperor Francis, watched the Crown Prince's moods closely, as he observed that Ludwig's ideas were entirely in conformity with those of Wrede, the foremost Bavarian General. The Austrian therefore resolved to visit Ludwig and find out from him personally his opinion of the situation. On the 14th of September the Minister was received in audience. The situation in Spain was immediately discussed.

'Shall we be able to remain at peace?' the Crown Prince asked the Minister, who evaded a direct answer by discussing generalities.

'In any case,' continued the Crown Prince, 'you would do well to strengthen . . . your fighting forces. You can do it on your own system. The position of our country is much less fortunate in that respect. We are forced by foreign command to produce armaments, and this is ruining us. God alone knows what still awaits us. It is well known that I would rather fight against the French than for them, but no one asks my opinion and it is not for me to express it. We are in such a dependent position that we have to march against all and sundry as we are ordered. If only Napoleon could be overthrown in Spain so that we could all feel free again! Oh, what a year of misfortune was 1805! You know that I was not in favour of espousing that cause . . . however, the thing was done and we cannot escape the consequences. God grant that we may be able to remain at peace. We must not be enemies and I hope that you will not regard us as such.'¹

Stadion left the Palace very well satisfied. He believed that the Crown Prince had in no way misled him and that he had spoken with his well-known candour, particularly as Ludwig became heated and his expression betrayed his inward emotion and his desire to confide in someone. The Minister resolved therefore to

¹ *Graf Friedrich Stadion to Vienna, Munich, 13th and 20th September, 1808. Vienna St.A.*

take special trouble to cultivate the connection with the Crown Prince.

All the Princes of the Rhine Confederation made a pilgrimage to Erfurt. Amongst them on 1st October, 1808, at Napoleon's request, were King Maximilian Joseph and his Minister Montgelas. In spite of everything that had taken place, the Crown Prince knew that the ladies at the Russian Imperial Court were still considering an alliance between him and the Grand Duchess.

At the Congress, the King of Bavaria first introduced the subject of territory and finances. In accordance with his son's wishes, he begged Napoleon that no Bavarian troops should be employed in Spain, and he also touched tentatively on the marriage question. He had no suspicion that Napoleon and the Czar were holding portentous conferences concerning the fate of Alexander I's two sisters, Katharina and Anna, the latter of whom was then only fifteen years of age. Although the Emperor Francis had married again, Katharina had not hesitated to inform her brother that she detested Napoleon, 'a man made up of duplicity, cunning and personal ambition,'¹ and would never marry him. Napoleon had been hinting at his hopes regarding Katharina, but after this emphatic declaration by his dear peculiar 'Catau', as the Czar called his sister, he left Napoleon in no possible doubt as to the hopelessness of any such plan. Thereupon Napoleon suggested Anna. In any case it would have been extremely mortifying to the Emperor if, after his own failure, Ludwig were to marry the Grand Duchess Katharina. He did everything therefore to prevent it; he remained silent about his own failure, put forward political considerations, and said to Montgelas²: 'You can act as you think fit with regard to the Prince's marriage, but I would have little confidence in him, in fact I would rather mistrust him, if he were to contract an alliance with a Royal House that was not on good terms with me. To-day my relations with the Emperor of Russia are good, to-morrow they may be bad. . . . His cousin of Saxony would be a far more suitable wife for the Crown Prince.'

'She is not, I understand, at all to His Royal Highness's taste,' replied Montgelas.

'Then another will have to be found. But remember my words.'

Ludwig waited impatiently for news from his father from

¹ *Mercure de France*, 15th May, 1807. Jean Jacoby, *Les fiançailles manquées de Napoléon*, p. 11.

² Montgelas, p. 170.



KATHARINA OF RUSSIA.

Portrait by Benner.

Erfurt, but nothing in favour of the Russian marriage was forthcoming, and he grew still more angry with the Emperor of the French and Montgelas. Certainly those two had worked against his plans. Indiscreet and impulsive as ever, the Prince expressed his views openly: 'A plan is probably being hatched to marry me off to some Frenchwoman, but nothing will ever come of it.' From another source the Crown Prince heard that Napoleon had, at Erfurt, expressed anger to his father at Ludwig's extraordinary utterances, particularly when he was in Switzerland, and had said that under such circumstances he could have little confidence in him.¹ Count Froberg-Montjoye paid a visit to Stadion: 'The Crown Prince is uneasy, he does not expect anything good from Napoleon, so he is taking the precaution of looking around for protection and is counting on the Court of Vienna.'

In the meantime there came the unexpected news from the Chevalier de Bray in St. Petersburg that the Grand Duchess Katharina was to marry the second son of the reigning house of Oldenburg. De Bray had worked in Russia to favour the Crown Prince's plans although he was in opposition to his Government in this matter, and he now attempted to sweeten the bitter pill by disclosures concerning the Grand Duchess.² 'Her choice of her cousin of Oldenburg, for whom she conceived an overwhelming passion, shows her bad taste. The Grand Duchess, as a matter of fact, is too masculine in her behaviour and not at all beautiful, although she has a fine figure. . . . I can assure Your Highness that you would have run a great risk in seeking happiness with her . . . As regards Napoleon, there is no doubt that he was not in favour of your marriage, but he did nothing to prevent it.'

The Crown Prince of Bavaria did not believe that; he knew the Corsican better. The news of the engagement made a profound impression upon Ludwig. Furiously he exclaimed: 'That is another trick Napoleon has played on me. I know quite well that he wants to ruin me.' It was impossible for him to restrain himself any further, and he made his desperate plight clear to Adjutant Montjoye and to Pappenheim: 'Go to Stadion and find out whether, under certain conditions, I could count on Austria and the Imperial Court if I should find myself in a perilous position through Napoleon's ill-will. I am bound to a system which

¹ *Graf Stadion to Vienna, Munich, 26th October, 1808. Vienna St.A.*

² *Chevalier de Bray to Crown Prince Ludwig, St. Petersburg, 10th November, 1808. Munich H.A.*

I hate; if it had been in my power I would have wholly opposed the policy of 1805. What will happen if another war is declared between France and Austria, and Bavaria has to take part?’

Stadion was in a difficult position. Matters were not yet so far advanced and he had to consider the King and Montgelas. On the other hand, he was delighted at Ludwig's sentiments. So he made no promises to Ludwig's emissaries but advised that the Crown Prince should continue to influence his father in the direction which he considered the only right one for the good of the State. The Minister was well aware that as long as the present conditions continued the heir to the throne was not his own master.¹ But he kept very careful watch. Soon it came to Stadion's ears in Munich that, since the Russian plan had fallen through, Ludwig had expressed a wish to marry an Austrian Princess, for example the Emperor's daughter, Archduchess Marie Luise. Stadion was even asked by someone in the close entourage of the Prince whether there would be any risk of a refusal. ‘No,’ replied Stadion, ‘on the whole there need be no anxiety on that score.’² The Minister gave an excellent report on Ludwig. ‘The character of the Crown Prince has never shown the slightest sign of duplicity. On the contrary, he is considered too candid. He has shown himself consistent in his ideas and plans, even injudiciously so. He can be counted on our side and it is now merely a question of leading up to some incident which will offer him the excuse he seeks. I would even venture to suggest a further consideration. The Crown Prince did not speak for himself alone; he is, as it were, the representative of all German princes who are merely the subordinates, not the accomplices, of Napoleon. In a way he personifies all the German peoples, especially the nobility by whom the rest are influenced. All hate the French yoke, all expect deliverance to come from Austria and are ready to act if only whole-hearted measures are adopted whose efficiency will make success certain and ensure that the sacrifice is not for a lost cause.’

These reflections of Stadion were true in principle, but the time for action was not yet as ripe as the Minister believed himself justified in assuming. The sense of the invincibility of the French and, above all, fear of the military genius of the Conqueror were still too great and unshaken. Had he not in this very December,

¹ Stadion to Vienna, Munich, 18th December, 1808. Vienna St.A.

² Stadion to Vienna, 3rd January, 1809. Vienna St.A.

1808, invaded Spain with a great force and after four weeks victoriously entered Madrid? That had renewed everyone's faith in his destiny. Yet the fact could not be overlooked that these successes seemed greater than they really were, and that the unceasing guerilla warfare, in spite of all the Emperor's victories, remained a festering sore on the body of his Empire. The Great Man in Paris was himself well aware that with every difficulty he encountered in the south, the old enemies, particularly those on the Danube, would become more aggressive and sooner or later hostilities would break out afresh. On the 15th of January, 1809, Napoleon wrote that he had returned to Paris and would like to know how far, in the event of war, he could rely upon King Max Joseph. He wrote as though it were merely a matter of protecting Max Joseph's frontiers and hoped for 40,000 Bavarian troops.

Crown Prince Ludwig heard of this suggestion and was extremely depressed. To 'make an end of German (*Teutsche*) servitude to France, to be the first Prince in the Rhine Confederation to take the field against Napoleon',¹ was his most ardent wish. 'I am ambitious,' wrote the Crown Prince, 'yes, I am ambitious for the greatest possible achievement, which is to deliver Germany and Europe, to conquer Napoleon.'

The real position was very different. Bavaria's King prepared to obey Napoleon's commands and to mobilize the required troops. It was obvious that there could no longer be agreement or confidence between Max Joseph and the Crown Prince. Ludwig spared his father in his public speeches, but he did not hide his dissatisfaction with the King's Ministers. He realized that he was helpless and that he also would have to draw his sword against Austria. Perhaps, however, in the course of events a favourable opportunity would arise for getting the power into his own hands and changing the entire course of his father's policy. One of his confidants, who had kept in touch with the Austrian Minister, gave the latter to understand as much, and let it be thought that it came from the Crown Prince himself.²

Ludwig asked to be given supreme command of the Bavarian troops, but here he immediately met with difficulties and his request would only have been agreed to if he had had a Frenchman as Chief of the General Staff. To be so unequally yoked

¹ Notes made by Ludwig in the year 1809. Munich H.A.

² Friedrich Lothar Stadion to Johann Philipp Stadion, Munich, 9th February, 1809. Vienna St.A.

was unthinkable. When the question was referred to Napoleon, it was quickly decided. The Emperor had no intention of handing over the troops of his most reliable ally to the Crown Prince of Bavaria—of whose opinions he was well aware—so that he could lead them into the enemy's camp. He took shelter behind Ludwig's inexperience. 'I must speak frankly to you,' Napoleon wrote to the King.¹ 'If war breaks out, your troops will be seriously involved. However naturally gifted the Crown Prince may be, he has never waged war nor learned to wage war. He can know nothing about it. I would therefore rob myself of the success I expect from your 40,000 troops if I did not place an able and energetic man at their head. I have therefore appointed Lefebvre, the Duke of Danzig, an old soldier, to the Command. . . . When the Crown Prince has taken part in six or seven campaigns in every rank, he will be in a position to command. It will be easy to extricate him from an embarrassing position; he can come to me at headquarters.'

This was precisely what neither Ludwig nor Stadion wanted, for the latter feared Napoleon's influence. The menace of war drew ever closer. About this time Stadion, shortly before leaving for Vienna, once more waited on the Crown Prince. Stadion's speech was impassioned²: 'War is certain. It will start at the beginning of April. When Bavaria's troops and our own number more than those of the French on German soil, then we shall expect Your Royal Highness to act. Not before.'

Ludwig considered for a while, then agreed to Stadion's request, and gave him his hand upon it.

'I will do it. But Napoleon wishes me to join him at headquarters.'

'Whatever happens, do not go . . . wait a little. In two months our German Fatherland will be freed from its shackles and our armies will be on the Rhine.'

'I agree,' said Crown Prince Ludwig. 'I wish you all success. But Napoleon is clever. As long as he lives he will take advantage of every mistake we make and will therefore be victorious. Austria's soldiers are brave, there is no doubt about that. But the French have the more skilful leadership.'

Montgelas was watching the Crown Prince's behaviour very

¹ Napoleon to King Maximilian I Joseph, Rambouillet, 14th March, 1809. *Correspondance* No. 14,901.

² Notes made by Crown Prince Ludwig in the years 1809 and 1810. Munich H.A.

suspiciously all this time. He wished to send him to Napoleon's headquarters, but Ludwig insisted that on no account would he go and begged his father under the circumstances to give him command at least of a Division. Again in this case the King thought it advisable to forward the request to Paris.

Ludwig was furious that the King of Bavaria did not venture to appoint his own son to the command of a Division of his own troops without asking the permission of the Emperor of the French. That proved, as nothing else had done, the degree to which Bavaria was dependent upon France. Marshal Lefebvre had meanwhile ordered a closer concentration of all the troops under his command and transferred his headquarters from Landshut to Freising. Ludwig had to report there to his new Senior Officer. The outbreak of war was imminent and the Heir Apparent once more made a will in which he earnestly begged his father to carry out his project of erecting a magnificent memorial in the *Englische Garten* in Munich 'to the great Germans' (*für grosse Teutsche*) in a manner worthy of them. A hundred busts were to be set up there and the names of the other famous men were at least to be immortalized.¹

In these days of stress at the beginning of April, 1809, King Max Joseph lay seriously ill. It seemed to the Crown Prince like a sign from Heaven that he should now openly oppose his father's policy, but still he waited. Someone from the King's immediate entourage came to him with the advice that if war were to break out then he, the Crown Prince, should call the whole population to arms. The man did not mention against whom, but what he wanted was obvious. 'Is he trying to sound me?' Ludwig wondered; 'Does he really mean this as personal advice or is he acting on orders from someone?'

Soon, however, there was no more time for reflection. Austria definitely intended war and the Tyrol rose also and joined her against the Bavarian rule which France had imposed upon it. Montgelas had applied unpopular measures in that country. The Crown Prince had never been in agreement with the policy of introducing into the Tyrol innovations which even the Bavarians disliked. Now it was too late. Ludwig had only recently returned to Munich from the headquarters of his Division at Anzing when Count Stadion was announced. Ludwig joined him in drinking

¹ Will made by Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, 7th April, 1809. Munich H.A. 'Endorsed 'Not valid'.

to the health of the Tyrolese and hearty damnation to Napoleon. He clinked so violently that his glass was shattered,¹ and he seized the Minister's hand with the words: 'Remember that in April of the year 1809 during the Tyrolean revolution, the Crown Prince of Bavaria disavowed Napoleon.'

Things were getting serious. Simultaneously with the outbreak of the rebellion in the Tyrol, the main forces of the Archduke Karl crossed the Inn and invaded Bavaria. The long expected war had started. Ludwig, who in reality was not much of a soldier, was forced to go to war, and for an alien cause at that.

On 14th April the Crown Prince's Division marched from Munich to the battlefield. Once more Ludwig had wandered through the English Park, fresh with dew and resplendent in its light green spring garb. Seated upon a bench, he wrote in his diary²: 'It is exactly ten years since I first entered this garden. Hundreds and hundreds of times as a boy, as a young man, I wandered through it with my tutor, and later at the head of a Division; in the most varying moods, in love, sad and joyful, in the throes of composition, my soul lost in the tranquil blue of eternity, thinking of what was past, of the approaching war. . . . I have to fight for Napoleon against Austria's army. Is there anything worse than to fight for that thing which it is my burning desire to fight against—to fight that the chains of servitude may become heavier and more oppressive. . . .'

These were the meditations of the Crown Prince from which he was rudely torn and dragged back to stern realities by the word of command to the marching troops. He who proclaimed to all the world: 'Our cause is the cause of Germany,' must now march against Austria, and he trembled at the thought. Napoleon saw that the time had come to act. All at once he appeared in Bavaria, concentrated his widely scattered troops and, on the 17th of April, after a few small engagements, reached Donauwörth.

It was seven o'clock on the morning of the 20th of April, 1809. The Crown Prince was in bivouac with his own regiment at Abensberg, sitting by the camp fire, whilst light rain and snow fell. No one knew what was likely to happen. Napoleon was expected. Suddenly a Chevaux-leger galloped up: 'The Emperor is coming!' Ludwig leaped on his horse and was preparing to ride to meet

¹ Bettina von Arnim, "*Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*"; also her letter to King Ludwig I, which he received in Aschaffenburg on 4th October, 1854. Munich H.A.

² Note in the diary of Crown Prince Ludwig, 14th April, 1809. Munich H.A.

him, but Napoleon was already there, wearing a simple grey overcoat, riding a horse from the King of Bavaria's stable. In answer to the Crown Prince's salute and report, Napoleon said: 'Yes, this is the way we become King and the Bavarians become soldiers. The Austrians probably told you that they would come to liberate you. Everything in its own time. In a month we shall be in Vienna.'

Then Napoleon called together all the senior officers: 'You Bavarians and Württembergers will be fighting the enemy alone to-day, without the French, and I rely on your courage. I have already enlarged the borders of your countries. I realize now that I have not done so enough. In future I will make you so great that you will not require my help. . . . Destroy the Austrians, attack them with bayonets. My name is the terror of the enemy; he has never seen my back, and will not see it for the first time to-day.'¹

The Emperor spoke in French, using strong and impassioned words. The Crown Prince had to translate them. Even Ludwig, who knew and hated Napoleon, could not help being impressed at the moment by this extraordinary man. Something approaching enthusiasm was aroused—admiration for his genius, however much he detested the whole affair. After this speech Napoleon lay down quite simply on the grass in the rain and mud. A map was spread out, a piece of tarpaulin held over it, and the Emperor at once began eagerly to prick out the plan with coloured pins.

Crown Prince Ludwig regained his composure. He heard that the attack was to be made. The thought flashed into his mind: Shall I lead the Bavarian troops another way and so frustrate the Emperor's plans? 'But Napoleon has aroused the enthusiasm of my troops,' he told himself. 'I am helpless in the face of their feelings. I can prevent nothing. I feel the power of the presence and personality of the Emperor. What would be the result of the slightest attempt to oppose him? I should be ruined for ever. To appear entirely on Napoleon's side but to work against him is the only thing left for me to do. The Emperor has a will of iron, he is extraordinarily clever in looking ahead. He is a great imposter certainly, but it must be acknowledged that luck is with him.'

¹ Napoleon's speech is reported with slight differences: see *Correspondance de Napoléon I*, Nr. 15099, and also the entry in Crown Prince Ludwig's diary, etc. In substance reports are the same.

The thunder of the cannons came nearer. Napoleon's whole bearing became taut, his eyes glittered. '*En avant!*' he cried and gave the final orders for the attack. The Emperor of the French led exclusively German troops against an enemy whose backbone was formed by German-Austrians! This could only be effected by the tremendous force of his personality. Everything was forgotten when one heard this genius speak and saw him act. During the march Napoleon turned to Ludwig: 'Watch me, so that you may learn how to behave one day as King. If you are active, others will follow you. If you are a sluggard, others will go to sleep.'¹

The day ended in a victory over the Austrians who, although they possessed enthusiasm for a good cause, had not the same gifted leadership. During the whole of the fighting on that 20th April, Ludwig remained at the Emperor's side. When the battle was over and the enemy in retreat, the two men lay down opposite each other beside the camp fire on straw on a cold night, and like ordinary soldiers they were roasted by the fire on one side and frozen on the other. Napoleon was drunk with victory. Purposely he exaggerated this success in speaking to Ludwig: 'In twenty days we shall be in Vienna,' he prophesied.

Officers who had been taken prisoners were brought up before him. With theatrical gestures and in a loud voice so that the Crown Prince could hear every word, Napoleon said: 'There is no longer any Austrian Monarchy, it has ceased to exist. . . . Your Emperor wished to make Bavaria a barony; I will cut up Austria into a number of them. The House of Habsburg will reign no longer.' While these interviews were taking place Ludwig scribbled a letter home. Napoleon saw him: 'Yes, yes, write and tell your father that we have captured 10,000 men and secured ten flags, and that many enemy Generals have been killed and wounded.'

The Crown Prince sent off the letter. Hardly had the courier ridden away when Napoleon came back: 'Add in your letter that four Archdukes have been wounded. What? the courier has gone already. Well, send another.' But the story about the Archdukes was not true, Napoleon was only in a very good temper. He pinched the Crown Prince's ear, as he was fond of doing, and did the same thing to a passing soldier whom he asked after his home and to whom he gave a present. He always gave away everything

¹ Karl Theodor Heigel, *Historische Vorträge und Studien*, 3rd Series, p. 306.

he had with him, and his entourage were often hard put to it to replace such things during a campaign.

The Emperor gave the enemy no peace. The pursuit went on day and night. On the march, Ludwig again gave himself over to his meditations. Here he was, obliged to ride in the suite of the man whom he regarded as the oppressor of his German homeland and as an unscrupulous adventurer, whilst over there the Austrians rightly claimed: 'We are fighting for Germany against the tyrant.' Love for his country and hatred of the Frenchman flamed up in Ludwig's heart. A trusted adjutant was riding by his side: 'Oh, why did I not thrust my sword yesterday into Napoleon's heart? I could have done it so easily! How many lives would have been saved by such an act!'

'Be prudent, Your Royal Highness,' whispered the officer. 'Consider, is not this brilliant leader making Bavaria great, mighty and victorious?' Ludwig was alone in his opinion. Even his immediate entourage was under the influence of this great Napoleon and not in sympathy with the Prince.

During the battle of Eggmühl on the 22nd, the Crown Prince's Division fought on the French left flank and was therefore at some distance from the Emperor. Ludwig was repeatedly under heavy fire. It was not until evening that he saw Napoleon at the Castle of Egloffsheim. The Emperor was well satisfied with the results of the day, but was obviously very tired. He kept falling asleep at table and during the conversation. With the utmost effort he pulled himself together to give fresh orders. The next day the march continued. Crown Prince Ludwig at the head of his Division passed through Landshut, where he had once studied, and through all the country where he had wandered with his tutor. Those were happy and carefree days! And now? Germany itself was flooded with French armies of war which marched through Bavaria as though it were their own land.

'In *Teutschland* the *Teutsche* no longer dares call himself *Teutsch* Nor express what he feels for his Fatherland.'

It was a time of violence and excitement, but how would it end? The future remained uncertain.

The initial battles against the Imperial main army, which took place between the 20th and 24th of April, had been phenomenally successful for the French. Napoleon was preparing to invade the Austrian provinces. On the 25th Crown Prince Ludwig and his

Division were to march to Freisingen, but then bad news was received from the Tyrol. The rebellion had made rapid strides there. Under the courageous and patriotic leader, Andreas Hofer, Bavarian and French troops had been beaten. On 12th April Innsbruck itself was captured and there was talk of the Tyrolese in the rear of the main Napoleonic army falling upon defenceless Munich. Terror seized the Crown Prince, who already envisaged his capital occupied and his father a prisoner. Urgent representations were made to Napoleon, who was also anxious about his lines of communication, and Ludwig was ordered to return immediately to the capital with seven Bavarian cavalry squadrons. On the 26th, after a forced march, the Heir to the Throne arrived at Munich. He met with no enemy, heard that there was no immediate danger and that the King had left Munich. The people thronged around Ludwig's horse, kissed his boots, and in the evening he was received in the theatre with unending applause. But he only showed himself for a short time. He soon received orders to march to Salzburg, which he entered with his division in streaming rain on the last day of April. 'People know,' he said jokingly, 'why they call the town the "*pot de chambre*" of the Holy Roman Empire.'

Now Ludwig had a few days' leisure to look after his personal affairs. He could not forget his discomfiture in the matter of his marriage with the Russian Grand Duchess. He also feared a new move by Napoleon. Nothing in the world would induce Ludwig to marry a Frenchwoman, but he must take precautions against it and give Napoleon to understand that he would probably bring home as bride a Princess from one of the Saxon Houses. These families, after all, belonged to the Rhine Confederation. The Crown Prince wrote this to a Frenchman closely associated with Napoleon, at the same time expressing his admiration for the Emperor, whose calmness and confidence in the field he had had opportunity of observing at close quarters.¹ Ludwig wrote these words of appreciation with intention, for he knew perfectly well that they would be passed on to Napoleon, and he hoped they might make the Emperor more favourably disposed towards him.

With anxiety the Crown Prince in Salzburg followed the fighting in the Tyrol and had to admit that he understood the rebels and even sympathized with them. Ludwig knew he could

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig wrote on this and another letter: "My opinions are not to be judged by the contents of these letters." Munich H.A.

exert no influence over Montgelas, but the Minister of Finance, Herr von Hompesch, was a good friend of his. So he wrote to him and through him tried to influence the treatment of the Tyrolese: 'I most earnestly desire forbearance—they should stop irking the people with endless prohibitions.' The Crown Prince recommended that the century-old customs of the people should be respected, for only in that way could one get to know and understand the people. Hompesch passed these remarks on tactfully and they finally reached the King, who regarded everything with Montgelas' eyes and did not share Ludwig's views.

In the meantime Napoleon by a quick advance and rapid blows had arrived at Vienna. On the 13th of May he entered this proud capital of the Austrian Empire. The Crown Prince was advised to congratulate Napoleon on his great success. It is the King's wish, he was told. Ludwig therefore wrote to Napoleon on 18th May, a letter which was in direct contradiction to his real feelings: 'That evening at Abensberg, Sire, I considered twenty days an impossibility, but now the day has come and your troops are in Vienna. My sincere devotion to Your Majesty will prove to the whole world my unalterable feelings and the respect which I dedicate to you for ever.' ¹

For the moment it seemed that Ludwig had admitted himself to be in the wrong and had surrendered completely to the views of his father and Montgelas. But Ludwig then informed his father of these letters: 'I wrote as I did because I knew how much you desire me to be on good terms with the Emperor Napoleon.' ² The King was the more pleased as he had recently received a short account of his victories from the Emperor in which he remarked that the Crown Prince had shown himself '*sans peur et sans reproche*'.

The Ministers, and Ludwig also, had already begun to wonder what new provinces they would now receive after what appeared to be taking place in Vienna in this connection. In the meantime, however, whilst attempting to cross the Danube, Napoleon suffered a severe defeat at Aspern. He was aware of the gravity of this defeat and feared the impression it would make on the world. The magic of his invincibility was broken. What effect would it have on the Crown Prince of Bavaria? He was one of the

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Napoleon I, Salzburg, 18th May, 1809. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to King Max Joseph, Salzburg, 19th May, 1809. Munich H.A.

first to whom Napoleon wrote glossing over the defeat: 'The flood and the wide and difficult river were to blame.'

Unfortunately, the success at Aspern was not followed up. Napoleon recovered himself and sent for strong reinforcements, although he had for the moment to abandon the Tyrol as he required all the troops which had been engaged there.

The Crown Prince's Division was also recalled from Salzburg and ordered east. During the march to Linz, the Tyrolese hurled themselves on the weakened enemy which had been left behind, and by the end of May drove them completely out of the country. By this time Bavaria was menaced, but the Crown Prince still interceded for the Tyrolese. 'You like me to be frank with you,'¹ he wrote to his father; 'I therefore beg you most earnestly to show forbearance to the Tyrolese, issue a general pardon. . . . In this way you can do more with these people than by severe measures. Let them have their way in the small things they care about, and they will be loyal to you.'

Owing to Napoleon's distrust, the Crown Prince and his Division were only given a task of secondary importance, namely the protection of the flank and of the bridge at Linz. A messenger, who appeared secretly at Ludwig's bedside in Linz at four o'clock in the morning, urged him to marry the eldest daughter of the Emperor, the Archduchess Marie Luise, and so bring order out of chaos in the war question. This seemed rather too fantastic and the Prince evaded the question without an actual refusal. He would only take this course if they tried to force him to marry a Frenchwoman. The apprehension that he might one day have to do this ate deep into his soul, and also his relations with his father depressed him very much, for he loved and respected the King although he could not and would not agree with his policy. He was deeply moved when he received Max Joseph's letters which closed with the words: 'Good-bye, dear Louis, I love you with all my heart and soul. Your sincere friend and loving father, Max.'

Such letters always inclined Ludwig to be more conciliatory, for he knew how much the King valued his good relations with Napoleon. The King wished him to write to Napoleon; he did so, but it went so much against the grain that he made the following remark on the draft: 'I repeat that my real sentiments must never be judged by the letters I write to Napoleon. Ludwig, Crown Prince.'

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Linz, 21st June, 1809. Munich H.A.

Austria threw up the game too soon. Although Wagram was by no means a convincing and complete victory for Napoleon, negotiations for an armistice were immediately opened. As Vienna submitted to the exaggerated terms imposed by the French, she appeared to regard herself as defeated. Napoleon was able to write cheerfully to the Bavarian Crown Prince from Schönbrunn that he would be pleased to see him at headquarters shortly. In Munich this invitation aroused the greatest hopes of territorial expansion.

On the 24th June Ludwig arrived at Schönbrunn and Napoleon received him in a very friendly manner, even offering him his cheek to kiss in front of a hall full of officers. Ludwig drove to Schönbrunn every morning and remained to lunch. As soon, however, as he attempted to speak of politics the Corsican became silent or changed the subject. It was obvious that he already repented of having promised so much at Abensberg. He now thought differently. The Crown Prince's dislike and mistrust increased again. He could only endure Napoleon in his own element—in the field occupied with military matters.

The Corsican continued to be very reserved. There was therefore no point in Crown Prince Ludwig's staying any longer at headquarters. Immediately after conclusion of the armistice of Znaim on the 12th July, 1809, Napoleon decided to take his revenge on the Tyrol, to attack it from three sides and so finally subdue it. From Salzburg Marshal Lefebvre advanced against North Tyrol. The Bavarian troops were also put under his command. The Crown Prince, who from the bottom of his heart sympathized with these brave peasants, had no wish to take part in the campaign against the Tyrol and therefore started on a journey in order to withdraw himself from any direct participation.

Ludwig was wise to keep out of the affair. In spite of initial successes, Lefebvre's campaign, in which the Crown Prince's Division took part, was a failure. Andreas Hofer marched back victoriously into Innsbruck as Royal and Imperial Commander in Chief of the Tyrol. The French Marshal returned to Salzburg and complained to Napoleon that the Bavarians and Saxons were to blame for all his reverses. Early on the morning of the 26th of August Ludwig also arrived once more in this episcopal city. He called for reports on recent events and gained from them the impression that the troops had obeyed orders, but that Lefebvre's leadership had been at fault. At a review on

12th September, Marshal Lefebvre's anger against the Bavarian troops caused an outburst in the presence of the Crown Prince. He had the officers placed under arrest and sent the non-commissioned officers to the Provost-Marshal. This was too much for the Bavarian Heir Apparent, who immediately left the review. Ludwig wrote to his father and declared that he would not allow such injustice to be done to Bavarian troops.¹ In the evening he appeared in his box at the theatre. Scarcely had he arrived when Lefebvre entered and reproached him coldly and severely for his conduct at the review.

'Yes, but I am not only a General—I am also Heir to the Throne of Bavaria.'

'Had you not been the Crown Prince, I would have placed you under arrest.'

'It is impossible that the Marshal and I remain longer together,' Ludwig wrote to his father that same evening.² 'I should like to be with your army, but without him. To-morrow I shall report sick, but that can only tide me over for a few days. I beg you to send me an immediate answer. I have endeavoured to keep the peace so that no one should be able to prejudice Napoleon against me, which might react unfavourably upon you and Bavaria. It is most painful for me that the Marshal and I ended by falling out. . . .'

When Lefebvre returned home from the theatre he found the Crown Prince's application for sick leave awaiting him. He repented his impetuosity and the same evening wrote Ludwig a letter which was both apologetic and regretful.

When the King in Munich received his son's indignant letter, he was greatly perturbed lest these misunderstandings should seriously harm Bavaria in the eyes of the Emperor. For whether Ludwig were right or wrong, it was obvious that Napoleon would side with Lefebvre. The King therefore entreated his son to remain where he was and not come to Munich at the present juncture; he would endeavour to arrange for the Marshal to be transferred.

'You wish me to stay here, and I obey,' answered the Crown Prince, who would have been quite satisfied if only Lefebvre had left Salzburg.

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Salzburg, 13th September, 1809. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Salzburg, 17th September, 1809. Munich H.A.

The Marshal's reports to Napoleon left no doubt as to Ludwig's feelings. Lefebvre mentioned the disagreements and added that, were he to close his eyes at table, he might, judging from the conversation, imagine himself at Austrian and not at French headquarters. Napoleon's anger with the Crown Prince grew stronger.

Meanwhile the peace negotiations in Vienna were reaching a conclusion. Early in October Ludwig learned to his joy that the war was over. 'It is peace, peace!' he cried enthusiastically. 'Bavaria will be healed of her wounds.' The Crown Prince believed that this also applied to the Tyrol and sent an officer to the rebel headquarters to impart the news of peace from Vienna, and so prevent further bloodshed. The following day Marshal Lefebvre ordered a reconnoitring movement towards the town of Hallein, which was occupied by the Tyrolese. Only one and a half battalions of Ludwig's Division were to take part. The Crown Prince was depressed at the thought that he would have to fight the very people to whom on the previous day he had announced the conclusion of peace. He therefore decided not to take any personal part in this attack, particularly as he regarded it as a most unimportant one. The fight turned out worse for the French than had been expected, and the troops retreated to Salzburg. This caused particular annoyance to Marshal Lefebvre, who had to order a fresh action to re-establish his position. A suitably sharp report was sent to Napoleon at Schönbrunn. That was the climax. In a towering passion the Emperor said to the Bavarian Plenipotentiary, Verger:

'I don't care a straw for any king; a corporal is of more use to me. What is to prevent me having the Crown Prince shot? Of course he was not present; he wished to sever his connection with the Marshal, who certainly did not handle this matter well.' Lefebvre was therefore recalled,¹ but Napoleon at the same time wrote to General von Wrede: 'I am dissatisfied with the Bavarian troops. Instead of fighting, they brawl and intrigue against their leaders . . . I will not listen to any 'if' or 'but' or 'because'. I am an old soldier. It is your duty to defeat the enemy or die. I could have wished that at the first news of the attack the Prince had gone to the advance posts to restore the morale of his Division. As I know that you are as devoted to the Crown Prince

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to King Max Joseph, Salzburg, 12th October, 1809, also notes in the Crown Prince's handwriting. Munich H.A.

as I am, you will only make such use of this letter as you think fit.' ¹

Wrede waited on the Crown Prince and brought the letter with him. 'Napoleon is obviously seeking "*une mauvaise querelle*,"' was his verdict, 'because he does not wish to enlarge Bavaria as he promised the King verbally. That is why the Bavarian troops are being vilified now, so that they may be blamed.'

Not satisfied with that, Napoleon sent for the Crown Prince's brother-in-law, the Viceroy of Italy, and complained to him bitterly of Ludwig. The result was a letter from Eugène which was to appeal to Ludwig's conscience. 'I will not hide it from you, *mon frère*, the Emperor is dissatisfied. He has given me definite instructions to write this to you . . . a letter from you to His Majesty would explain matters more satisfactorily. I wish I could convince you, my dear Louis, that it is imperative to obey one's superior officers blindly and that it devolves upon us, particularly in our position, to set an example to the rest. . . .' ²

This plain speaking had a result which Napoleon hardly expected. Ludwig, it is true, wrote to the Emperor, but in reality the only point which touched him at all was the possibility of his being considered a coward for not taking part in the battle. He therefore described the initial insignificance of the undertaking in question. In his diary, however, he wrote: 'If it were possible for me to like Napoleon it would be merely because he hates me so.' This, and not the tone of his official letters, expressed the Crown Prince's real feelings towards the Corsican.³ Ludwig's father, the King, did not take the affair too seriously, nor did he attach any importance to the remark made to Verger about shooting, as on the same day Napoleon in a letter to Wrede had mentioned his attachment to Ludwig.

'That alone should prove to you,' wrote the King, ⁴ 'that as soon as his first anger is passed, he no longer remembers what he has said. I am not going to worry my head about it.'

After the peace of Schönbrunn on 14th October, 1809, Crown Prince Ludwig hoped that the Tyrolese and Andreas Hofer would offer their submission. The innkeeper, however, and particularly

¹ Léon Lécestre, *Lettres inédites de Napoléon I*, Paris, 1817, vol. i, p. 371.

² Viceroy Eugène to Crown Prince Ludwig, Vienna, 8th October, 1809. Munich H.A.

³ Notes in Crown Prince Ludwig's handwriting. Munich H.A.

⁴ King Maximilian Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Nymphenburg, 17th October, 1809. Munich H.A.

his followers, who were drunk with enthusiasm, attempted to incite their countrymen to fresh opposition. The new Commander of the expedition against the Tyrol had orders from Napoleon that the rising must be put down at all costs. Crown Prince Ludwig believed that peace had already been made, and now it appeared that the whole thing was to start again!

The part that the Crown Prince was now expected to play was exceedingly disagreeable to him. He was again anxious to avoid any participation in this new campaign, and asked his father whether he particularly desired him to take part. 'You must stay with the troops, my son,' answered the King. For good or evil the Crown Prince obeyed. 'If only to prove that I am not afraid,' he wrote to his sister Charlotte¹ 'it is possible that my presence might be instrumental in influencing the Tyrolese in favour of Bavaria.'

Complete submission was, however, demanded by Schönbrunn and Munich. Napoleon had a proclamation drawn up which was forwarded to the rebel outposts. The Emperor promised forgiveness if the Tyrolese would yield and keep the peace, but otherwise he threatened ruthless warfare. Crown Prince Ludwig was anxious for conciliation and peace. He shook his head as he read the Corsican's proclamation. 'What I have felt the whole time,' he said to himself, 'the unworthiness of the rôle I am forced to play, I feel still more strongly now that I have read this document.'²

Once again fighting took place on the Iselberg near Innsbruck, and the Crown Prince only very narrowly escaped a cannon-ball which struck the ground immediately in front of his horse.³ Another step and he would have been killed. On 2nd November Ludwig entered Innsbruck with Wrede's division.

By this time he had had enough. He had done all that appearances required: he had taken part in another battle and had occupied the capital, Innsbruck. From the south and east the French were advancing simultaneously on the Tyrol and most of the leaders of the rebellion were seeking safety in flight. Andreas Hofer remained in hiding. What would happen now? Certainly summary justice, bloody vengeance, persecutions, and death

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his sister Charlotte, Kundl in Tyrol, 23rd October, 1809. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Hall, 27th October, 1809. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Innsbruck, 1st November, 1809. Munich H.A.

sentences. No, the Crown Prince of Bavaria was determined to have no hand in it. To persecute individuals who had acted from motives of selfless patriotism, no, a thousand times, no! If his father continued to insist, his health must once more come to his aid. If one is ill, one is ill, and there is nothing to be done about it. Crown Prince Ludwig was determined to leave the Tyrol.

Ludwig could not prevent it, but he refused to assist in tearing the Tyrol into three parts. One part was to go to Italy, the second to Illyria, and the third would be left to Bavaria. Crown Prince Ludwig heard with the greatest indignation of the execution of Andreas Hofer at Mantua. He ground his teeth at the thought of his impotence in the face of all that was happening and hoped for the day when he would be able to have his way. From Napoleon Ludwig received a letter: 'I noted with pleasure the conduct of your Division. You and Bavaria can always count on my friendship and affection.'¹

The feelings of Bavaria's Heir Apparent were very bitter as he laid down that letter.

¹ Napoleon I to Crown Prince Ludwig, Paris, 21st November, 1809. Munich H.A.

THE GREAT CHANGE

1809-1813

Austria had acknowledged herself beaten and in a flash the situation was changed. The Habsburg State had looked to Count Stadion to save Germany. But now Stadion was dropped and his place was taken by Count Clemens Metternich, a Rhineland German by birth but devoid of any national consciousness. Summed up in Metternich's own words his policy was 'to conform to the triumphant French system'—by 'deviation, evasion and flattery, to wait until the hour of deliverance should come'.¹ This was a tremendous change. The position of Austria's ruler now differed very little from that of the Bavarian King and rumour was even current that the Emperor's daughter, Marie Luise, had been offered to the Corsican in marriage.

It was agreed in Paris that Bavaria should cede some small territories to the Princes of the Rhine Confederation, but in return should receive Salzburg and the Inn district from Austria and Bayreuth from Prussia. With bitter feelings Vienna was forced to agree to this decision.

The Crown Prince remained aloof from all these political events. The question of his marriage became ever more acute. He told himself that Napoleon would not hesitate, now that he was more than ever in a position to impose his will on the world, simply to decree whom the Prince should marry. His anxiety was intensified at the end of December, 1809, when the same messenger who had spoken to him in the summer about Marie Luise approached him again. This time for two hours he insistently urged Ludwig to marry a daughter of Napoleon's brother Lucien, and in so doing save his country and his House.

'Rather would I lose my crown and my life,' was Ludwig's answer.

Thereupon the secret emissary left him. To himself Ludwig said: 'I shall soon be twenty-four; it is imperative that I marry.

¹ Speech by Metternich on 10th August, 1809. See also Viktor Bibl, *Metternich*, Leipzig-Vienna, p. 68.

When I have done so, Paris will no longer be able to make attacks on my liberty. The Emperor of the French will make it impossible for me to marry outside the ranks of his allies. Very well. Unfortunately, many German Princes have been forced into Napoleon's political following—I must choose a wife from one of their families.' The King had hinted to his son that a certain Princess of Hildburghausen, of a Saxon family, was pretty and charming and would probably make an excellent wife. She would not, it was true, bring with her a large dowry either in money or lands; but Napoleon would have no objection. Crown Prince Ludwig realized that this was a way of escape. He would be able to marry a German without giving offence to his father or to his father's powerful ally. The first thing to do was to visit the girl's home, see her and get to know her. That did not pledge him to anything and might lead to happiness. Ludwig told his father of his intention. 'Then one of my dearest wishes would be fulfilled,' answered the King.

In the castle of Hildburghausen the announcement of a visit by the Crown Prince of Bavaria came as a message from Heaven. On 20th December, Ludwig arrived and was ceremoniously received by the Duchess. To the right and left of her stood her daughters. First a bow to the Duchess, then to the other ladies standing in a semi-circle. With curiosity Ludwig looked at the eldest Princess. The younger one, Luise, was prettier and gayer, but Therese in her red tunic, which so well set off the colouring of her fresh young face and showed to advantage the tall, slender figure of this girl of eighteen, was more stately and majestic. Heavy braids of lovely chestnut hair were wound about her head, forming a fitting frame to the exceptionally delicate skin and sweet oval face with its expression of womanly tenderness. The girls knew what this visit portended, but their manners were unaffected. Ludwig, on the other hand, felt the blood rush to his cheeks. The Duchess drank tea at six o'clock, and they all got to know each other better. The Princesses did not try to captivate him, they did not sing nor play the piano; they talked naturally and modestly, without shyness. That was exactly to Ludwig's taste, who hated nothing more than affected, would-be *ingénues*. The first impressions were excellent.

Next morning, when the Crown Prince was drinking chocolate with the Duchess, Therese came in a little late. Ludwig stopped eating and gazed steadily at her. Embarrassment brought the

colour to her cheeks and at that moment she was more beautiful than ever. Something like a premonition of happiness swept over the Prince.

Ludwig spent a week at the little Court of Hildburghausen 'in a kind of fever heat'. He could eat very little and sleep had entirely deserted him. Therese's four brothers smiled; the girl seemed to have scored a complete victory. Therese herself was much calmer. She was flattered at the impression she had made on the Bavarian Crown Prince, and therefore was inclined to overlook the fact that her suitor could not be called good-looking, that he was rather deaf, and that he stuttered worse than usual at this time when his feelings had the upper hand. But she was a wise and serious-minded girl. She saw in Ludwig not merely the heir to the Bavarian throne but a sentimental, passionate, unusual, and, because of her own lively and enthusiastic nature, particularly winning personality whose many small faults could easily be overlooked, and to whom it would be possible to be both wife and comrade on the important path which lay before him. There was only one point to consider: the Princess was a Protestant and Ludwig a Roman Catholic. Everything now depended upon how this difficulty could be met.

In the first letters which the Crown Prince wrote after his departure it seemed that his heart prevailed: 'My spirit was submerged in heavenly delight, *O Cousine*,' he wrote to his future bride.¹ 'The gentlemen of my suite said to me yesterday in the carriage that anyone who did not know me might at times think me crazy. There are moments when I appear so to myself. I cannot deny that I feel a different person now.'

Therese learned that when Ludwig had asked for her hand in marriage he had required of her mother that his future bride should enter the Roman Catholic church. That she could not and would not do. Letters on the subject went to and fro, and neither side would give in. 'My beloved Therese was born to be a queen,' Ludwig wrote to the Duchess of Hildburghausen²: 'Born to be an excellent wife and a true friend through life. I beg of you and of my darling, not to shatter my hopes of a happy future because of this one point. I have seen many good, beautiful and lovable women, but nowhere a second Therese.' Yet on the question of

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Princess Therese von Hildburghausen, Würzburg, 26th December, 1809. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to the Duchess of Hildburghausen, Nuremberg, 31st December, 1809. Munich H.A.

religion the Princess would not give in. 'On your decision,' she wrote to the Crown Prince,¹ 'rests my fate and the happiness of my heart.'

This depressed Ludwig terribly. 'In what a distressingly painful position you place me,' he wrote to his cousin.² . . . You are treating me cruelly. . . .'

Throughout January Ludwig continued his persuasion, whilst all the members of his family, particularly his devoted sister Charlotte, were rejoicing at the prospect of the marriage. Max Joseph was still in Paris. 'God bless your choice, dear Louis,' he wrote to his son, 'which makes me unspeakably happy'. He had informed Napoleon immediately. 'Tell the Crown Prince,' said the Emperor, 'that with all my heart I wish him happiness. You know that I always had a Saxon Princess in mind for him.'

At this time a decision was also made concerning the Emperor's marriage. Napoleon wished to make short work of the matter and to have an answer within twenty-four hours whether or not he could count on the Grand Duchess Anna. But the Dowager Empress and her son decided to plead the Princess's tender age and thus to gain time, for they did not want to see the girl make such a *mésalliance*, although they knew that war might be the result of a refusal. When Napoleon realized the situation, he hurriedly tried to forestall a refusal by an immediate marriage with the Archduchess Marie Luise, daughter of the Emperor Francis. For that reason the unfortunate Austrian Ambassador was not even allowed to communicate with Vienna before giving an answer in the affirmative. In Vienna, however, all religious scruples on the score of the recently concluded divorce, all thought of class difference, and all consideration for the girl had been set aside.

The King urged his son to thank Napoleon for his good wishes, and there followed another of those letters which Ludwig wrote so unwillingly. The Emperor's answer was no more sincere,³ for it spoke of a 'true friendship' upon which, under all circumstances, Ludwig could count.

On 12th February, 1810, the formal betrothal of the Bavarian

¹ Princess Therese to Crown Prince Ludwig, Hildburghausen, 5th January, 1810. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to Princess Therese of Hildburghausen, Munich, 8th January, 1810. Munich H.A.

³ From two letters written by Napoleon to Ludwig, one from Paris, 17th February, 1810, and the other undated. Munich H.A.



CUP WITH A PICTURE OF QUEEN THERESE.

Crown Prince was celebrated at Hildburghausen. Princess Therese had had her way in the question of religion, even at the risk of losing a suitor who was an excellent match for her. This was a great proof of character which, although it went much against the grain, was far from lowering Ludwig's opinion of her; he had by this time a real affection for his future wife. She too was very happy, but in a more reserved manner. The Crown Prince wrote to his favourite sister Charlotte¹: 'I feel happy and contented to have my future settled; I see more clearly every day how well I have chosen.'

In Munich everyone thought that Ludwig was looking very well and happy, and much more cheerful than he had been before. That was easy to understand, for the fear of having to marry a French woman was past and the charm of his future bride was a constant source of pleasure and hope. In the capital he met his father who had just returned from Paris. The latter embraced his son and promised to appoint him Statthalter of Salzburg and the Tyrol. In this way he would immediately be able to offer his wife a suitable position.

The King was still full of his experiences in Paris and related how Napoleon had once said to him: 'They are saying that I wish to become Emperor of Germany. That would be the worst possible political mistake: from that moment everyone would be against me. Let the Princes do what they like at home—breed sheep or grow turnips—it is all the same to me. I shall only prevent the Princes of the Rhine Confederation from going to war with each other.' Laughingly the King told his son: 'Just imagine: the Emperor's sister, Princess Pauline, said to me suddenly as I was leaving: "Your Majesty, next time you come you must give me a child as beautiful as all the other children you have put into the world." Taken aback, I replied laughingly: "But Your Highness, what would your husband say?"

' "Ah! Perhaps I am a little shameless, but I have only a few years to live and I want to enjoy them." ' ' ²

During the last part of the King's visit the Cabinet, which was to deliberate on the question of the new Empress, was defeated. Only one candidate, the Archduchess Marie Luise, was suggested. Cambacérès was strongly opposed to this suggestion. He judged

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Charlotte, Hildburghausen, 16th February, 1810. Munich H.A.

² Taken from notes made by Crown Prince Ludwig on the account given by his father after the latter's return from Paris, in March, 1810. Munich H.A.

quite rightly that, whichever Emperor's daughter Napoleon might marry, he would soon be at war with the other State. 'War with Austria does not worry me in the least, but I tremble at the thought of war with Russia; the consequences would be incalculable.' Cambacérès evidently did not know that Napoleon had no longer any choice in the matter, and that the marriage with Marie Luise of Austria was now finally approved.

The Archduchess left Vienna on 13th March, with an enormous suite. The Bavarian Crown Prince was instructed to make the twelve hours' journey to Haag to meet her there. At three o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th the future Empress arrived. Ludwig approached the carriage. Somewhat embarrassed and excited, at first he had difficulty in speaking, but then he succeeded in welcoming Marie Luise in the King's name and in congratulating her. She looked him up and down, for he also had been on the list as a possible husband. The Crown Prince could not help thinking how very near he had come to being able to treat this Princess with the intimacy of marriage, whereas now the most ceremonious etiquette was required towards her. He imagined himself in Napoleon's position who, like so many other Princes, would not see the woman with whom he was to spend his life until they were already bound to each other. Immediately he made comparisons: 'I quite liked her,' he wrote to Hildburghausen, 'but I would not have her nor any woman I know in the place of my affianced Therese, who stands alone. . . .'

When the procession arrived at the Palace at Munich, where the King and Queen stood on the steps to welcome the Archduchess, the whole town was lost in admiration. No one had ever seen such a magnificent travelling dress. The procession consisted of thirty-six State carriages; at every halt three hundred and five horses were required, and through Bavaria alone six thousand were used. Never, since the unfortunate Marie Antoinette had passed that way to Paris had there been such a magnificent array and such strict etiquette.

The Archduchess did not stay long. She left again on 19th March. The Crown Prince was delighted when it was all over. Marie Luise noticed that her arrival was not very opportune for Ludwig. 'Here in Haag the Crown Prince of Bavaria met me,' she wrote to her father.¹ 'He welcomed me with a long speech.

¹ The Empress Marie Luise to Emperor Francis, Strasbourg, 23rd March, 1810. Vienna St.A. See also Baron de Bourgoing, *Das Herz der Kaiserin*, Essen, 1937, p. 16.

He is very clever but stammers dreadfully, and was so deaf that he did not understand what I said. . . . The Prince was in a very bad temper because my arrival prevented him celebrating his marriage with the Princess of Hildburghausen.'

When he had time, the Crown Prince devoted himself to his favourite pastime of buying valuable paintings and sculpture. From 1807 onwards Dillis received letter upon letter asking whether he knew of a Pietà by Titian for sale, or whether it were possible to obtain a Leonardo da Vinci in Milan, etc. Ludwig was overjoyed in September, 1808, when he was able to purchase what was believed to be a portrait of Raphael by himself, but which was in reality a portrait of Bindo Altoviti, a patrician of Pavia. The Crown Prince also heard that a beautiful Madonna by the same artist was in the possession of the Marchese Tempi, who might possibly be willing to sell. Ludwig immediately made strenuous efforts to secure the picture, at first unsuccessfully. He chose as his agent the young sculptor, Johann Martin Wagner, who had won first place in a drawing competition which Goethe had arranged in Weimar. Ludwig instructed Wagner¹: 'I wish to secure works of exceptional beauty; if these are obtainable in no other way I am prepared to pay high prices for them.'

Nearly every day Ludwig received charming letters from his fiancée at Hildburghausen. He begged her to learn Italian, 'the language of love.' 'Why did I not think of this before?' wrote Therese. 'But then I should already have written "*Io amo, tu ami, egli ama*", etc., and how little did I understand of this whole conjugation until you became my teacher. I always loved this language, but so dear it could only become when I was able to write: "*Ti amo, il mio Lodovico*"—a beautiful name, it sounds sweet to me in every language.'²

Rapturously Ludwig wrote to her about the Raphael which gave him so much pleasure. 'No one came so near perfection,' he wrote. Ludwig could never tire of these beautiful works of art. There was soon a fresh instance of this. The Barberini Princes, related to Pope Urban VIII., to whom they owed their title and great riches, possessed a wonderful library, beautiful pictures, and sculptures. In the middle of the eighteenth century the family became extinct, and the Colonna-Barberini branch carried on the name and

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Wagner, 7th April, 1811. See Winfried, *Freiherr von Pölnitz, Ludwig I. von Bayern und Martin Wagner*, Munich, 1929.

² Princess Therese to Crown Prince Ludwig, Hildburghausen, 29th May, 1810. Munich H.A.

estates but with less success. The difficult times forced them to sell some of their valuable possessions, and rumours were current that a magnificent statue of a faun was to be put up for sale. This statue was one of the most exquisite jewels of Hellenic art, and represented a primitive being without any veneer of civilization. Ludwig had been particularly delighted by a picture of it, and in June, 1810, he commissioned Wagner to make every effort to secure this treasure.¹

In the meantime Ludwig and his fiancée had reached a compromise on the question of religion. She would not become a Roman Catholic, but would, as far as her duty and the Church permitted, attend the Catholic services. The Crown Prince welcomed this solution, for he was very fond of Therese, although he was reluctant to give up the idea of her conversion. The date of the wedding was now discussed. The Crown Prince wished that it should take place as soon as possible, but the King desired it to be on the day of his patron saint, 12th October, which was accordingly chosen.

As the day approached, Ludwig meditated much upon the results of this important step. He feared that his future wife would not share his interests and inclinations, and that she would not respect the freedom which he wished to retain in spite of his marriage. He might even be dogged by her jealousy; this would be particularly dangerous in view of his impressionable nature and love of womanly beauty—of, in fact, beauty of all kinds. He therefore tried in his letters to acquaint his future wife gradually with his real nature. He began by warning her against having too high expectations of married life²: 'I shall be happy with you, my dear, dear Therese, but joy and sorrow alternate through life like light and darkness, and absolute happiness is not to be found on earth, not even in the happiest marriage—and oh! how far removed am I from perfection! Exaggerated expectations are more dangerous than reality. Beloved Therese, take this well to heart. It is the truth, and your future happiness depends upon it. . . .'

Then Ludwig described to her his daily life³: 'The greater

¹ Karl Theodor Heigel, *Neue historische Vorträge und Aufsätze, Ludwig I. von Bayern und Martin Wagner*, p. 46.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to Princess Therese, Nymphenburg, 17th June, 1810. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to Princess Therese, Nymphenburg, 23rd August, 1810. Munich H.A.

part of the morning I spend in the little house in my garden . . . alone and yet not alone, for I am in the company of the great men of the past. Study is a passion with me, particularly the study of history, which should be called . . . The Book of Princes. I am not unsociable, but if duty does not call me I prefer to spend the greater part of my day in solitude.'

Thus Therese was made aware of Ludwig's interests and of the fact that in their married life she must not expect to be continually with him. Thus it was made clear to her that he wished as far as possible to continue his usual manner of living. In the Crown Prince's mind there was continually the picture of his mother, who had loved his father immeasurably and consequently had suffered deeply because of his interests in other women. This would probably be Therese's fate one day.

'That I shall be happy,' Therese wrote to Ludwig,¹ 'your heart is my guarantee. . . . I do not dream of ideals in my future life, but I do expect much from it. My greatest happiness will consist in being able to contribute to yours.'

The wedding was celebrated with much pomp, but Ludwig went through the ceremony with mixed feelings and anxiety. Hesitatingly he spoke the 'Yes', but Therese sounded calmer, clearer, and more full of hope. It annoyed the Crown Prince that Napoleon's representative took the chief seat in the Palace Chapel for the ceremony. The King and the members of the Royal Family addressed their conversation to the Frenchman first and he took precedence on every occasion. And in the face of this Ludwig was obliged to smile dutifully and express his gratitude to the Emperor for his approval of the marriage. During the ceremony the Crown Prince had himself well in hand. He observed the faces of those around him in the church to learn what was the real opinion about his marriage.

The entire festivities were spoiled for the new Crown Princess by an extremely inopportune attack of toothache, which lasted throughout both her wedding night and the following day. When she was able to reappear, her charm and sweetness pleased everyone, and the Crown Prince had proof of this at a large national *fête* which was held on the *Festwiese*, where thousands of people were gathered. In the evening there was a ball in the large hall of the Opera House; invitations had been issued by the King.

¹ Princess Therese to Crown Prince Ludwig, Hildburghausen, 30th September, 1810. Munich H.A.

The Court withdrew early, and the Crown Princess went to bed, but after accompanying her home Ludwig returned to the festivities.

'I did not enjoy it very much,' Ludwig wrote in his diary¹; 'but I did it to assert my freedom and so that my wife should not think that I ought to stay away because she had done so. . . . Before I married I wrote to my future wife and told her that I intended to continue my usual mode of life, and I am doing this as much as possible. At night I sleep in my own room, and only visit my wife. I go for walks in the daytime alone. It is important to begin as I mean to go on. Thus I am adapting myself to married life and am not unhappy.'

On 19th October the French Minister, on orders from Paris, gave a magnificent ball. The decorations were most significant: the eagle of the Empire and the flags of Bavaria were united under laurel wreaths. Ludwig was ill at ease. The insistent flaunting of the relations between Bavaria and Napoleon irritated him, and he had also the feeling that he was now bound and that women no longer regarded him as eligible. Accustomed as he had been to meet every beautiful woman as the youthful Crown Prince, confident of victory, he felt the restrictions of the invisible fetters.

'At home I do not dislike this married state,' he wrote in his diary,² 'but in Society I find it unbearable. To-day again I remained to the end after my wife had left, but my gaiety had deserted me. Oh, beautiful days when I lived free and independent! Will you never come again?'³

At his father's request Ludwig had reluctantly to write to Napoleon and thank him for his letter of congratulation. The Corsican was now upon such a pinnacle of power that Ludwig, in spite of his dislike, was forced to wonder: 'Perhaps I am wrong and the power of this military genius is unshakable —perhaps in order to live we must continue our alliance with him and I must bow to the policy of my father, or rather, of Montgelas.'

Ludwig found it difficult to break entirely with his bachelor habits. In a letter to his sister Charlotte he wrote⁴: 'Ecstasy does not fill your brother's soul. The step I have taken is serious. Often have I thought of you; I could not lose myself in married

¹ Entry in the diary, dated 17th October, 1810. Munich H.A.

² Entry in the diary, 19th October, 1810. Munich H.A.

³ Entry in the diary, 20th October, 1810. Munich H.A.

⁴ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Charlotte of Württemberg, Munich, 25th October, 1810. Munich H.A.

happiness. Therese is wonderful in her love, her intelligence, and her beauty; I could not have a better wife. But I married without passion—perhaps in the end it may be a good thing.'

'A heart that surrenders itself,' his sister comforted him,¹ 'requires a loving heart in exchange, and nothing else can satisfy it. What are greatness and splendour? They can intoxicate us for the moment, but it is the joys of the heart which bring us lasting happiness: those of passion soon leave an empty void. Only those who know me as you do can understand how I long to see you happy through Therese and Therese happy through you. . . .'

It was a wise step on the part of King Max Joseph to appoint his son Statthalter, with a yearly allowance of 225,000 gulden, of that part of the Tyrol which remained to Bavaria and included Meran and Brixen south of the Brenner. Ludwig's winter residence was to be Innsbruck, and in the summer they would move to Schloss Mirabell in Salzburg. By this appointment Ludwig was given a definite sphere of action and fresh thoughts to occupy his mind. He realized that he was, as he remarked, on delicate ground, but he was filled with a desire to carry out his duties to the best of his abilities. He was warned that the Tyrolese would never be settled under Franco-Bavarian rule and was apprehensive that his arrival in the Tyrolese capital might lead to painful incidents. But nothing of the sort occurred. On the contrary, he was received with the greatest cordiality.² The whole town of Innsbruck was illuminated, and the welcome given to him on the steps of the castle by the aristocracy and by delegates from various districts of the Tyrol was sincere in its warmth. Then Ludwig and Therese passed into the private apartments, where Ludwig had prepared a charming surprise for his young wife. As she entered her own room she could imagine herself back at Hildburghausen, for Ludwig had had it decorated and arranged exactly like the room she had occupied as a girl. Joyfully she embraced her husband. Things seemed to be going well with Ludwig.

Not long after this the Crown Prince heard that the Emperor intended to use Bavarian troops for the peace-time garrison of Danzig, whereas, according to the terms of the alliance, he had

¹ Crown Princess Charlotte of Württemberg to Crown Prince Ludwig, Stuttgart, 10th November, 1810. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to King Max Joseph, Innsbruck, 29th October, 1810. Munich H.A.

only the right to dispose of them in time of war. Embittered, Ludwig wrote to his father and warned him against agreeing in this matter: 'That would be a terrible move if Napoleon in peace-time were to dispose of Bavarian troops as though they were his own.'¹ He did not share his father's delight at the birth of the King of Rome on 20th March, 1811. Yet he could understand the Corsican's jubilation, as Therese confided to him in April that she also was expecting a child.

On his return to Salzburg, after a visit to Meran, the Crown Prince occupied himself with exhaustive studies and preparations for his accession to the throne: these he described in detail in a memorandum. Special emphasis was laid upon the necessity for the strictest economy, as only in this way would it be possible to devote funds to useful and profitable purposes. Under this heading Ludwig included the promotion of Art, which he continued to further as far as the means at his disposal permitted. When the Roman Duke Braschi needed money to enable him to attend the marriage celebrations of Napoleon in Paris, Ludwig made use of the opportunity to buy from him the wonderful statues of Diana and Venus; he also continued his endeavours to secure the Barberini Faun.

'Make the most strenuous efforts, my dear Wagner,' Ludwig wrote to his agent.² 'If in any way possible the Faun must be mine. Conclude the agreement without further reference to me, but as quickly as you can. . . . Do not let him escape me . . . otherwise I should be inconsolable.'

It was, however, becoming increasingly difficult to make purchases, for the owners demanded very high prices. Then the Crown Prince heard that a magnificent statue of Tiberius had been discovered in Veii. This gave him the idea that he himself would undertake excavations and, if luck were with him, he might thus obtain works of art more cheaply. Attempts in Rome failed, and Ludwig turned his attention to Greece, where costly antiques had recently been unearthed. Upon the advice of *Freiherr* Haller von Hallerstein, an enthusiastic archæologist who was there at the time, the Crown Prince acquired some ground³ on the island of Milo where remains of an old theatre were still visible. With a little more luck Ludwig might have become possessed of one of

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to King Max Joseph, Innsbruck, 30th March, 1811. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to J. M. von Wagner, 10th July, 1811. Pölnitz, p. 57.

³ Pölnitz, Ludwig I and J. M. von Wagner, p. 63.

the most wonderful of all antique statues, for a very few years later the famous Venus of Milo was found quite close to the Crown Prince's land. The statue was carried off, in the most adventurous circumstances, by a French consul, and thus secured for the Louvre.

Although Fortune did not favour Ludwig in this respect, his acquaintance with Haller led him down fresh paths in the world of art. On the Island of Aegina, in the spring of 1811, the archæologist and an Englishman had found under the ruins of a temple some fairly well preserved original statues which had formed part of the frieze and which represented a group of Greek heroes fighting with Amazons and centaurs. These figures, which were wonderful from the anatomical point of view, dated from about 500 B.C. and belonged thus to a very early Greek school although the names of the artists were unknown. Haller urged the Crown Prince most urgently to acquire these works of art, and Wagner was accordingly instructed to hasten to Greece to conclude the purchase.

In addition to his artistic interests, Ludwig was also keenly interested in literature. Schiller's works were at that time more or less banned in Bavaria; the poet's strivings after freedom and German patriotism could not fail to be distasteful to Montgelas and his francophile policy. It was, therefore, rather in the nature of a demonstration that the Crown Prince of Bavaria permitted the performance of Schiller's play *Die Räuber* in the garden of Schloss Mirabell in Salzburg, and that he greeted certain passages with prolonged applause.

The Crown Princess also read a great deal at this time, as her condition obliged her to lead a quiet life. The King wished the child to be born in Munich, so that the stay in Innsbruck, whither the Court had returned at the beginning of the winter, had to be cut short, and the household moved to the Bavarian capital. The joy and the hope that there might be a son and heir to the throne impelled Ludwig again to take up his pen. He was growing more and more accustomed, in moments of excitement, to express his feelings in verse. It was not given to him to be a master of form—even among his published works, which were carefully selected, there are some appalling verses. It was easy for Heine to pour out his vitriolic scorn on Ludwig's poetry for he purposely overlooked the beauty of the underlying thought. Yet in spite of all mistakes of style and the lack of poetic gifts, every

poem discloses the warm heart of a living and sensitive human being, every line shows deep feeling, right observation, or clear thought.

To Ludwig's great joy, on 28th November, the Crown Princess gave birth to a strong and healthy son, who received the name of Maximilian. This domestic happiness for a time distracted Ludwig's thoughts from politics. In any case he had latterly paid less attention to them and more to his personal affairs. He had, for instance, occupied himself with foreign languages. He was an excellent French scholar, and used this language in letters to his father. He wrote in Italian to his sister in Milan, and now, in addition, he started to learn Greek. For with his love for Greek antiquity he wished also to be able to speak the language of that land of art. He also devoted much time to research into the life history of Gutenberg, the inventor of printing.

In February, 1812, Ludwig was still in Munich and could often be seen, seated on one of the benches in the *Englischen Garten*, writing poetry. He continued to read a great deal and was interested in numismatics, attempting by such means to deaden his feelings and repress his innermost national and political sentiments in face of the crude reality.

In the meantime, however, heavy political clouds had gathered on the horizon. The extension of the French Empire as far as the Baltic coast, Napoleon's arrogant demands that Russia should intensify the blockade, and the personal rivalry of the two Emperors resulted in a keen antagonism between these two countries. War was inevitable. Austria kept aloof and left Prussia unsupported, well satisfied that the latter had lost its former predominance in Germany, and Napoleon was able to force the King of Prussia to agree to an alliance and to place troops at his disposal. Vienna did this voluntarily.

All these events were extremely unpleasant for Bavaria. She had no quarrel with Russia, and the Empress of Russia was sister to the Queen of Bavaria. Moreover, it now seemed as if Austria were ousting Bavaria from Napoleon's favour--Austria, which had been forced to cede so much territory to Max Joseph and whose revenge he had therefore particularly to fear. Napoleon demanded that Bavaria should supply the full number of troops required by the treaty, for the impending war against the Czar. It was not surprising that differences arose between the King and the Emperor. From Innsbruck the Crown Prince again

raised his voice: 'Be cautious; if possible send no troops or only as few as possible, and see that these are employed in the less important theatres of war.' But Bavaria's Crown Prince could not yet show his real feelings, for the Emperor in Paris was then only at the outset of that enterprise which was to lead to his ruin. Napoleon was collecting the most powerful army Europe had ever seen—half a million men with a thousand guns.

In April, 1812, Crown Prince Ludwig saw continuous streams of French Divisions march through Innsbruck. One day a General was announced. It was his brother-in-law, the Viceroy Eugène, who had joined the *Grande Armée*. Ludwig had not the slightest desire to follow his example; he had already proved on various occasions that he was no coward in war, but he did not wish to fight in the service of the man he hated. Yet he could do nothing to prevent his country from providing 33,000 men. Napoleon, for his part, had had experience enough with the Bavarian Crown Prince in the year 1809, so Ludwig was left to his duties as Statthalter and to his artistic pursuits. Once more the Tempi Madonna was occupying his attention, but he was still unable to secure her.

The Crown Prince was very anxious to acquire a relief by Thorwaldsen, representing Alexander's triumphal march. When he learned, however, that this work had originally been intended for the Quirinal and that the great Macedonian conqueror was meant to represent Napoleon, his eagerness to acquire the relief disappeared completely and negotiations were broken off.

The attention of the Crown Prince was soon directed to the gigantic struggle beginning now in the east of Europe. Once again Napoleon was the central figure at the *Fürstentag*—the meeting of the Princes—at Dresden. Francis I of Austria took part in this proud gathering, but the King of Bavaria was absent. Then Napoleon hastened to join his troops and at the beginning of June the great army began its march against Russia. The first fierce battle took place at Smolensk on 17th August. On 7th September the Bavarian Corps was in action at Borodino. The Russians retreated ever farther into their vast country, laying it waste and setting fire to the few towns and villages through which they passed. The reports on what was happening were confused and misleading. They spoke only of French victories, yet one could not but realize how precariously the rear lines of communication were being extended.

The Corsican had reached Moscow, but a Pyrrhic victory awaited him, for the Russians had retreated, leaving the town in flames. The Emperor of the French was now in the heart of the enemy country, before the smouldering ruins of its capital, but at what sacrifice! Winter was upon them and he was without quarters and without food. Napoleon realized that he would have to turn back if his army were to escape complete annihilation. Five hundred thousand men had marched against Russia, but only 103,000 began the retreat from Moscow on 18th October, 1812. Europe was still being informed of victories, but letters, fugitives, and wounded began to arrive and soon very different news filtered through. The *Grande Armée* was in difficulties—it was no longer advancing—it was retreating. Everywhere there were whispers. The opponents of French rule no longer concealed their feelings but began to speak openly of freedom and independence. The French Minister in Munich noted this and reported to Paris: 'The ringleader of the opposition here is no other than the Crown Prince.'¹

The King and Montgelas became uneasy. After the fatal crossing of the Berezina between 26th and 29th November, 1812, only 9,000 men remained of all the hundreds of thousands who had started. Their condition was unspeakable. It was impossible to distinguish between officers of the highest rank and the common soldiers; each and every begged piteously for a place near the stove as though it were an unheard-of blessing. From time to time sleighs arrived packed with four or more officers whose limbs were frozen and putrefied and had to be amputated. It was even said that many of them had appeased their hunger on the bones of their fallen comrades. On the road to Kovno the dead and half-frozen were lying together in heaps; in the bitter cold they were stripped naked by their passing comrades. The sight of these half-dead men struggling desperately to retain their clothes was an appalling one.² That was the truth, but the world in general was still ignorant of what had happened. Lying reports of French victories were still issued, and at a big ball in Munich in December the French Minister, Count Mercy, even ventured to tell the Crown Prince to his face that the battle of the Berezina had been one of Napoleon's finest

¹ Heigel, *Kronprinz Ludwig 1813*, p. 361.

² From private letters dated 21st December, 1812, and 14th January, 1813. Copies in the Munich H.A.

victories.¹ Immediately afterwards he was given the lie by his Royal Master in the famous 29th Bulletin of 3rd December, 1812. This admitted to all the world that although the Emperor himself was well his army was practically annihilated. Barely 200 of the 30,000 Bavarian troops returned to their homes. It was the beginning of the end.

With increasing excitement Crown Prince Ludwig followed the failure of Napoleon's gigantic undertaking. Hopes of freedom began to revive in the Tyrol and elsewhere. There were isolated risings—after all, however much they honoured the Statthalter and his charming wife and appreciated his wish for better understanding, Bavaria was still being dragged in the wake of Napoleon. On 5th December, Ludwig warned his father against further recruiting, declaring that he would not take responsibility for the consequences. Events were proving him right, and he could see the day approaching when his hatred of Napoleon would be justified and he would be able to say to his father and to his far too powerful Minister: 'You see, after all I was right.'

A certain bitterness, however, was mixed with this surging triumph. There was compassion for the thousands upon thousands of men who had been sacrificed, and there was anxiety how best to break away from the French *bloc*—how to avoid being dragged down into the whirlpool into which the Corsican and his tottering Empire would certainly be drawn. It would be Ludwig's turn to help now. Had he not refused to allow his personal connections with Austria to be broken, in spite of the campaigns and opposition of his father and Montgelas? Were not the real feelings of the Bavarian Crown Prince known in Vienna? His work would be to reconcile his father with Austria. It should not be so difficult, for had not the statesman who now directed the policy of Vienna himself crossed into the French camp when he realized that the power and military genius of the Corsican were overwhelming? In spite of the marriage tie, Austria would be certain to secede. The step should be taken by both countries simultaneously when the right moment arrived.

The overwhelming victory of the Russians was beginning to have results. The Prussian General Yorck came to an understanding with them and the wave of defection from the despot began. Everywhere hopes of freedom were stirring. On 27th

¹ Mentioned in a letter from Crown Prince Ludwig to his sister, Charlotte of Württemberg, 18th January, 1814. Munich H.A.

February the King of Prussia went over to the Russians, and an inspiring proclamation was issued from headquarters at Kalisch in March, 1813: 'Let every German still worthy of that name unite with us in our cause. Let every man, be he Prince or noble or commoner, join with heart and mind, body and soul, in the liberation plans of Russia and Prussia.'

The people of Bavaria were unshakably loyal to their Royal House, but it was obvious that the King was now expected to change his policy. It was inevitable that the Crown Prince should now come into prominence. Montgelas began to inform Ludwig exhaustively of the state of affairs, and even sought his advice. At Innsbruck the Crown Prince expressed his opinions more publicly, and described the general sentiments in Italy, Illyria, and the Tyrol, which were far from favourable to Napoleon, who was now making efforts everywhere to secure fresh troops. Reports of the campaign in Russia did not fail to have their result. In Bozen the picture of the Emperor had to be removed from the Burgomaster's office because soldiers bespattered it with mud.

Prussia's representative was already making proposals to draw Bavaria into the camp of the Allies, but he acted too precipitately. It was impossible to do anything in Munich before Austria had made clear her position. 'Anxieties, fear and indecision increase daily,' the Minister of that country reported from Munich. He believed that, should the King decide to leave Bavaria, the Crown Prince would place himself at the head of affairs as Regent.¹ But the latter was still at Innsbruck, and reported from there that desertion from the regiments recruited in Italy was assuming enormous proportions. On 6th April the 137th French reserve regiment marched through Innsbruck, where it was taken over by a new commander: after a short speech he called for a *Vive l'Empereur* from the troops. There was dead silence—not one man echoed the cheer.²

Influenced by all that he saw, Ludwig decided on 7th April, 1813, that he must write openly to his father in future. He warned him again against recruiting measures and wrote: 'Dear Father, I am speaking to you frankly even at the risk of displeasing you . . . we are on the edge of a volcano. . . . Neutrality, my

¹ *Freiherr* von Hruby to Metternich, Munich, 30th March, 1813. Vienna St.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, 6th April, 1813, from Innsbruck. Munich H.A.

dearest Father, is the only means of regaining national goodwill. . . . I beseech you to save Bavaria.¹ A similar letter was dispatched the same day to Montgelas.²

King Max Joseph was impressed by these letters, but he was not yet able to free himself from the spell which Napoleon's personality had cast upon him. The Emperor had raised a fresh army and the last man in France had been called up. Matters would not be adjusted as easily or as quickly as the Crown Prince believed. On the King's instructions Montgelas replied.³ 'Neutrality, which would satisfy neither St. Petersburg nor Berlin, would be regarded in Paris as complete defection. . . .'

Ludwig felt that the decisive hour was approaching. His nerves were overwrought and he longed for rest. He sometimes felt that he must leave everything to take its course. Then he endeavoured to express his feelings in verse:

'Happiness is his to whom
Is granted that his fire of life burn not
In ceaseless strife of man with man,
Who craveth not the dust which men call Fame—
False foe which would earth's happiness destroy. . . .
He lives and feels, untouched by praise or shame
In sweet communion with Eternity.' ⁴

But these were fleeting shadows and Ludwig's eagerness and enthusiasm soon returned. The King was already proving more amenable to his son's suggestions, when news arrived that Napoleon, with his hastily collected army, had beaten the Allies at Gross Görschen, not far from Lützen, on 2nd May, in spite of stiff resistance. Again the King hesitated, and his son wrote to him: 'A defeat would completely have destroyed Napoleon on the right of the Rhine, but a battle won is a long way from giving him back his former predominance. . . . I beg of you as a favour, my dearest Father, not to postpone longer the negotiations with Austria. The storm is coming closer, and each day's delay may have the most terrible results. . . .'⁵

The King answered these letters with the greatest possible

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Innsbruck, 7th April, 1813. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to Montgelas, see Heigel, *Quellen und Abhandlungen*, new series, pp. 367 and 387.

³ Montgelas to Crown Prince Ludwig, 16th April, 1813. Munich H.A.

⁴ Poems of King Ludwig I, I, 90.

⁵ Crown Prince Ludwig to King Max Joseph, Innsbruck, 10th May, 1813. Munich H.A.

reserve¹: 'It is no longer a question of neutrality but of marching against France. . . . If I hesitate to come to a decision it is in order to avoid finding myself between the devil and the deep sea.'

As for Montgelas, that statesman had hitherto had unlimited power, but now that his policy had led him to a dead end where a decision had to be made for a complete *volte-face*, he remembered that there was a King who was responsible. He therefore wrote to the Crown Prince on 2nd May²: 'I must leave the final decision to the sovereign personally. . . . Neutrality can only lead to a rupture with France and to this the King will not agree. Although he sympathizes with the sufferings of his subjects and is often dissatisfied with the French Government, he fears the genius of the Emperor, his enormous resources and the use such a great man can make of them. What an overwhelming disaster it would be if victorious France no longer supported Bavaria! Moreover, your father is also distrustful of the Court of Vienna.'

The Crown Prince, however, let nothing dissuade him from the course he considered right. In a long and urgent letter from Innsbruck on 22nd May, he again described the situation and begged the King to come to the right decision, for the welfare, if not the whole existence, of Bavaria depended upon it: 'You have now an opportunity to free yourself for ever from the terrible obligation, so painful to your heart, of delivering your subjects over to Napoleon as often as he wishes it, so that he may use them to carry out his whims and schemes of conquest.'³

Napoleon had in the meantime defeated the Allies at Bautzen. Saxony and Württemberg once again showed pronounced Franco-ophile sympathies, and under the influence of these developments the King wrote to his son:⁴

'Last evening, my dear Ludwig, I received your letter No. 26. Its whole tone proved to me that your hatred of the Emperor and of the French dominates all your thoughts and actions. As my opinion differs from yours in this respect, and as my paternal love makes it absolutely necessary that we should remain good friends, I beg of you never to speak to me again

¹ King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Munich, 14th May, 1813. Munich H.A.

² Montgelas to Crown Prince Ludwig, Bogenhausen, 21st May, 1813. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig to King Max Joseph, Innsbruck, 22nd May, 1813. Munich H.A.

⁴ King Max Joseph to Ludwig, Nymphenburg, 25th May, 1813. Munich H.A.

about politics. Rest assured that, guided by my conscience, my devotion to my House and my love for my subjects, I will steer the ship as well as I am able. . . . After my death you will be able to do what you think right. For your own happiness I hope that you will be able to come through as well as I have done so far. A courier brought me the news to-night of a second battle on 21st May, a victory at Holzkirchen.'

The Crown Prince had therefore to desist from writing letters to his father on political matters. But he continued the attack on Montgelas. There were already many in Munich who were of the same opinion as Ludwig, amongst them General Count Wrede.

In the meantime Ludwig had left Innsbruck and moved to Salzburg. On his arrival he exclaimed¹: 'This is the sixth time that I have come here and each time the beauty of the country enchants me afresh.' His anxiety concerning the political situation did not diminish, and he invited Montgelas to come to him. The Minister had betrayed his apprehension by advising the Crown Prince to remove all his belongings and furniture from Innsbruck. He did not at once accept Ludwig's invitation but appeared at Salzburg some weeks later, on 24th July. A sharp disagreement followed. To placate the heir to the throne, at least partially, Montgelas agreed to undertake secret negotiations with Austria, with the idea of keeping open a line of retreat for any eventuality.² The two men, however, did not part friends. Ludwig had spoken so openly that there was no longer any doubt as to his sentiments.

Napoleon meanwhile was endeavouring to thwart the efforts of the various countries to desert him. He was particularly anxious to keep Wrede, who commanded the Bavarian Army of Observation on the Inn. He made great promises and told him that there was no danger in the Crown Prince's displeasure, for Ludwig would never ascend the throne of Bavaria. The position, however, was growing increasingly anxious; Austria now went over to the side of Napoleon's enemies, which already included Russia, Prussia, and Sweden. Metternich recognized that the Emperor's power was waning and that it was high time to go over to the Allied camp. Marie Luise would again be sacrificed and Napoleon abandoned. On 12th August the Danube Empire

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to King Max Joseph, Salzburg, 30th May, 1813. Munich H.A.

² Heigel, *Kronprinz Ludwig 1813*, p. 371.

declared war on France, and Bavaria had to be prepared for an invasion at any moment. The Crown Prince was ordered to take up his residence at Augsburg, where his wife was to follow him and spend the last month before her confinement. On his way through Munich Ludwig passionately discussed the situation with the King and Montgelas.

At this critical time, just as Blücher liberated Silesia by his victory at the battle Katzbach, Ludwig fell ill with scarlet fever. At the same time his wife gave birth to a daughter, who was given the name of Mathilde. Then came the bad news that Napoleon had had an overwhelming victory at Dresden, had captured 20,000 prisoners, and that the Austrian Army was in flight towards Bohemia. King Max Joseph at Munich now congratulated himself that he had not acceded to his son's request. He believed events had taken a decisive turn. Very well satisfied with himself, he wrote to his son¹: 'I can only applaud my actions. Russia demanded that I should march against France. That would have been a betrayal of which I feel myself incapable. But it is quite another matter to keep my troops at home.'

But there was no great reason for congratulation, for the next few days brought news of defeat, victories for the Allies at Kulm and Nollendorff, and, on 6th September, the complete overthrow of Marshal Ney by the Prussians near Dennewitz.

The Crown Prince at Augsburg recovered slowly from the results of scarlet fever, but joy over the news from Dennewitz almost instantaneously completed his recovery. He at once wrote to his father: 'After the latest defeat of the French at Jüterbogk (near Dennewitz) and in view of the situation as a whole and the dangers we incur, I think we should lose no time in coming to an agreement with the Allies. Delay may have most dire results for Bavaria. Retain Salzburg if you can. I do trust that this town, to which I am so much attached, may remain under your sovereignty.'²

This time Ludwig's letter had a different reception. The King realized that the victories were not sufficiently important, that Napoleon's power was gradually waning, that he was losing his supremacy. Max Joseph therefore at last decided to enter into negotiations with Vienna, and wrote to inform his son. An

¹ King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Nymphenburg, 12th September, 1813. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Augsburg, 14th September, 1813. Munich H.A.

enthusiastic reply from Augsburg was the result¹: 'My dear Father, You are the founder of Bavaria's greatness and you will also be its deliverer. I have every confidence in you. I cannot describe the overpowering impression your letter made upon me. I offer you my heartfelt thanks.'

But Austria's first demands were anything but modest, and the King found them too exorbitant. The Allies were now working at high pressure. The Czar, the Emperor Francis, and Frederick William III. of Prussia all wrote to Max Joseph. The Russian without further ado demanded that the King should join the Allies immediately and wait until the end of the war for indemnities. The King considered this beneath his dignity. Austria's tone was milder, and that of Prussia courteous and friendly. But all three demanded that the King should march against Napoleon at once.

'I will instruct Wrede,' the King wrote to his son,² 'to do his utmost to achieve neutrality for us. If that is impossible, he is to state that I will not march one step until I have informed the Emperor (Napoleon) of my change of policy. To act as a traitor would be sheer cowardice, which I could not reconcile with the loyalty of my nature. . . . Adieu, dear Ludwig; I have had no rest day or night for a week. That is only natural as our future existence depends on the present negotiations.'

Wrede in the meantime was conferring with the representatives of the Emperor Francis at Ried in the Inn district, and sent his adjutant with urgent warnings to the King. As these had no effect, the General himself made a forced ride to Bogenhausen to explain matters personally to his sovereign: 'Things cannot go on thus—there can be no neutrality. We must either go over to the Allies completely or stand by Napoleon. The latter course is madness. The star of the great conqueror is setting. The whole of Europe is uniting to throw off his yoke.'

The General's clear and passionate arguments induced the King to give way. Reluctantly, filled with fear and shame, he agreed. On 7th October at Ried the dissolution of the Rhine Confederation and the complete freedom and independence of Bavaria were agreed upon.

As soon as the agreement was signed King Max Joseph informed

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Augsburg, 16th September, 1813. Munich H.A.

² King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Nymphenburg, 1st October, 1813. Munich H.A.

his son: 'We shall therefore march towards the Main with 30,000 Bavarians and 35,000 Austrians. The agreement makes no mention of any compensation or cession of territory. I confess I have no great hopes. . . . In the whole affair we shall merely secure independence from France to come again under the Austrian yoke. As we have now made France our enemy she will make short work of us. There, my dear Ludwig, you have my confession of faith. Do not let us speak of the matter any more. We have made our bed and must lie upon it.' ¹

With rejoicing Ludwig read the good news. At last that which he had preached for years, had begged for, and demanded, had actually come to pass. 'As soon as this can be made public the whole population, nobility, bourgeoisie and peasantry, will worship you and flock to the colours to march against France . . .' he replied to his father.

The great day had arrived. Ludwig's opinion had triumphed. He could now give rein to his national enthusiasm. The fight against the arch-enemy, the oppressor of Europe, against the man whom he had hated from the first moment, even though he had admired his genius, was beginning: the happy day of Napoleon's final overthrow was approaching.

¹ King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Nymphenburg, 7th October, 1813. Munich H.A.

AT THE HEIGHT OF TRIUMPH

1813-15

The Crown Prince was radiant. At last the King had adopted the course which his son had always advocated. No longer need Ludwig secretly rebel; he could now help in the realization of his dearest wish—the final overthrow of the ‘monster’, as he called Napoleon. He hastened to his father at Nymphenburg to offer his services and to beg that he might be used in the most advanced and dangerous position. The Crown Prince hoped thus to gain military laurels against the French, whereas up to the present he had always been obliged to fight on their side. But here he had reckoned without his host. Max Joseph wrote to his son-in-law, Beauharnais, excusing his action and saying that he had been unable to ‘withstand the eager, oft repeated and urgent requests of the Allied powers’. But in their hearts neither the King nor his Minister could free themselves from their old devotion to France and their admiration of Napoleon’s genius, which might yet win the day. If the Crown Prince were in command it would not be so easy to say that this defection had been forced upon them, but the King did not dare to refuse Ludwig outright. On the Crown Prince’s arrival, Max Joseph took his adjutant, Washington, aside and said: ‘I suspect that my son wishes to go to the front. That is impossible, however much it hurts me to say so, for in a few months the French may again march against Bavaria, and it is wiser that the Crown Prince should not be with the troops.’

Ludwig was disappointed, but hoped to persuade his father to change his mind. He was delighted at the pleasure shown by the Bavarians at being able to fight against the oppressor. But his sister at Monza, wife of the Viceroy Eugène, was filled with deepest despair. ‘It is my duty to keep silent,’ she wrote to her brother¹; ‘I will not describe my sufferings. . . . Things have come to such a pass. In order to save my family and Bavaria I sacrificed myself. I shall never regret having done so, but what is

¹ Vicereine Auguste to Crown Prince Ludwig, Monza, 18th October, 1813. Munich H.A.

my reward? I am forsaken. . . . God gave me an angel as a husband, that is my only happiness, and for this I am indebted to no one. What will become of us? In what corner of the world I shall end my life God only knows. I am prepared for everything.'

In the meantime the storm had gathered over Napoleon's head. In the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig, which lasted from the 16th to 19th of October, the Corsican was completely overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the Allies. His losses were terrific. The pursuit was not well followed up, but it was obvious that Napoleon had lost Germany. The glad tidings roused Ludwig and the whole of Germany to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Ludwig was in despair that he was not able to take part in the fighting, but he hoped that these events would influence his father's attitude. To his father in Munich he wrote¹: 'Soon I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, my dear Father, and of expressing my admiration for your well-timed action, which has saved Bavaria.'

In writing this the Crown Prince was really praising himself, for it was common knowledge that he had had the greatest difficulty in persuading his father, and that both the King and his Minister had been extremely depressed about the situation. Even the defeat at Leipzig was not sufficient for them; the victory was scarcely celebrated at all in Munich and hostile speeches and outbursts against Napoleon were suppressed. Ludwig alone acted differently. As soon as he arrived at Salzburg he ordered public festivities, gave a feast for the poor and, whenever possible, expressed the greatest joy and enthusiasm at the turn events had taken.

Meanwhile Napoleon's army had retreated through Frankfurt to the Rhine. Efforts by the Allies to cut off his retreat were badly planned and failed in their object.

At length the King realized that he would have to accede to the continual urgent requests of his son, and Ludwig was formally appointed Commander-in-Chief of the *Landesbewaffnung*. For the time being, however, he was to remain in the country with the reserve army which was about to be formed.

Whilst the Crown Prince planned how he could encounter Napoleon in the field, man to man, the latter was filled with fury at Bavaria's defection. 'The ruler of this country is guilty of

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Augsburg, 25th October, 1813. Munich H.A.

cowardly betrayal,' he raved at Mainz. 'Besides, it was an asinine thing to do. But the lion is not yet dead . . . the king will see me again next year. . . . He was a small prince whom I made great; now he is a great king whom I will make small. . . . No, there shall be no peace until I have reduced Munich to a heap of ashes.'¹

The Corsican left his army in the middle of November. He now realized that an armed world was rising up against him: 'Last year all Europe marched with us,' he declared in the Senate; 'to-day all Europe is against us.'

News of the outburst of rage against Bavaria of course reached Munich and Salzburg. Ludwig knew well what impression these words would make upon his father and hastened to counteract them by a letter: 'Clearly,' he wrote, 'it does not lie in the Emperor's character to forego revenge. . . . It is therefore my conviction, based not upon personal hatred but upon love of lasting peace, that Napoleon must never rule again. His one thought would be to wipe out his humiliation and make us slaves. Do your utmost, I beg of you,' he urged his father, 'to point out to the French that they should not allow themselves to be again deceived by Napoleon. They should be convinced that we are not their enemies but only the enemies of that man.'²

Disturbances had broken out again in the Tyrol. Attempts to bring the Viceroy Eugène of Italy over into the Allied camp had so far been unsuccessful. King Max Joseph therefore considered it safer, in view of the uncertain situation, to order Ludwig to transfer his headquarters as Commander-in-Chief of the Army to Munich. As the Crown Prince passed through Nördlingen the local National Guard turned out. Ludwig inspected them on the main square and read them an inspiring Order which he had drawn up the previous day in Salzburg:

'Men and youths of Bavaria! It is our duty to ensure that the French yoke shall not again be laid upon Bavaria, but only if every Teuton takes up arms against the enemy will it be possible for us to regain our lost happiness. . . . World domination was the aim of the Emperor of the French, and he has not yet abandoned it. . . . He nearly achieved it . . . and may achieve it yet if we slumber.'

There was consternation in Munich at this plain speaking. The

¹ Karl Theodor Heigel, *Kronprinz Ludwig 1813*, p. 384.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Salzburg, 10th December, 1813. Munich H.A.

King, and still more Montgelas, blamed Ludwig for being too violent and too impulsive, thereby throwing away the last chance of peace.¹ But this was precisely what the Crown Prince had intended. Neither did he mince matters when the Austrian representative, Count Apponyi, visited him in Munich on 19th December. 'Believe me, Count,² no peace concluded with Napoleon could promise permanence and security; unfortunately, I know this terrible man only too well. . . . Is the Rhine again to be the boundary of the French Empire? No! on no account peace at this juncture! The very fact that this man is ostensibly giving way proves how hard pressed he is, and how essential it is for him to have peace for the moment to gather fresh strength with which to carry out his insatiable plans. The feeling in Bavaria is excellent. . . . You can judge by my own mood how I have suffered for the last ten years—how often I have had to suppress my feelings, which none the less remained unchanged.'

Count Apponyi was delighted: 'I have never heard anyone speak with such exuberance and persuasive eloquence. Several times the Crown Prince called the Rhine Confederation the "Devil's Pact", and Napoleon he called "Satan". The features and gestures of the Crown Prince showed emotion, extreme enthusiasm and anger in quick succession.'

Ludwig wanted to do everything at once, fight and direct politics, all according to his own ideas. Then he heard that as soon as the right bank of the Rhine was occupied, Vienna would consider negotiations with Napoleon and, given certain conditions, conclude peace. That must be prevented at all costs, he told himself. The Corsican would gain time to rearm at his leisure, and the whole business would start over again. The Crown Prince warned the Emperor Francis³: 'I myself heard Napoleon say "*il n'y a plus d'Autriche*". His character is guarantee that he will take vengeance as soon as he thinks he is in a position to do so.'

On New Year's night the Allied armies at last crossed the Rhine. Bavaria was with them, heart and soul. Every man who could flocked to the colours. When even a *Kirchenrat*—a cleric, who had never even smelt powder—informed Montgelas that he also wished to join up the Minister remarked: 'I do not understand

¹ Graf Apponyi to Metternich, 18th December, 1813. Vienna St.A.

² Graf Apponyi to Metternich, Munich, 19th December, 1813. Vienna St.A.

³ Graf Apponyi to Prince Metternich, Munich, 24th December, 1813. Vienna St.A.

what is happening; as long as we were allied with France no one wanted to serve. Now all are anxious to become soldiers.'¹ The English Minister sent home a report containing similar observations: 'The moving spirit of this noble national effort is the Crown Prince. He hates the French, and his devotion to England is proportionally strong and deeply rooted. This applies to our language and to everything that characterizes us as Englishmen.'

The Diplomat was right. Nothing had made a more profound impression upon the Crown Prince than the dogged, consistent, rigidly hostile attitude of Britain, who fought against the Corsican conqueror for years until finally victorious. As soon as Ludwig's enthusiasm for a country was awakened he immediately started to learn its language. In this way he had learnt Italian, had studied Greek, and now began to acquire English.

In spite of the tremendous events of this time, the Crown Prince had never forgotten his beloved Aeginetan statues. These had been brought to Malta and, as Bavaria was at that time in the enemy camp, the British Secretary of State had given orders that their purchase by Ludwig should be opposed and the treasure secured for England. The Crown Prince now begged the British Minister that, in view of the changed conditions, London should give up this decision and allow the antiques to be handed over to him. Sir G. H. Rose intervened with his government.² He was anxious to oblige the man who was the only counterweight to the Bavarian King and his Minister, whose conversion to the Allied cause was very recent and rather unreliable. That was of greater importance to England than a few antique statues, and Ludwig's ultimate possession of the Aeginetan statuary was no longer in danger.

In the meantime progress had been made by the Allies. Blücher was advancing from Mannheim and Schwarzenberg from Switzerland; the two joined forces in the Champagne and defeated the Emperor of the French at La Rothière. In the middle of February, however, the Emperor once again showed his military genius, and with incredible daring forced his enemies to retreat, first in one place and then in another. This made such an impression upon the Allies that at the new peace negotiations at

¹ See note 3, p. 122.

² G. H. Rose to Lord Castlereagh, Confidential, Munich, 7th February, 1814. London, Public Record Office.

Châtillon they were on the verge of considering a compromise with the Corsican. Ludwig again feared a premature peace.

Then the war took a rapid turn in favour of the Allies. In several battles at the end of February and in March Napoleon was made to realize that his greatly reduced army was exhausted from continual marching and was no longer capable of holding its ground for any length of time.

Ludwig rejoiced at the good news. In Munich, however, things were different. Whilst the Crown Prince 'without a drop having passed his lips, was drunk with ecstasy' upon hearing of the victories in France and had the words '*Beharrlichkeit, Teutschheit, Sieg*' engraved on his sword, he became sobered again when seated at the King's table, at which Montgelas was also present. He simply could not understand them. How could anyone still hold to Napoleon? The King was his father, but nevertheless Ludwig's anger rose: 'It is a sad thing to be full of joy which one may not show,' he wrote to Therese,¹ 'to be forced like an actor to hide one's expression from one's own father. . . . I should be deeply grieved if such a situation should arise between Max and myself. The attitude adopted in childhood is reproduced later. Relations have grown very strained. . . .'

Full of envy, Ludwig watched the career of the Crown Prince of Württemberg, who had been responsible for the unhappy marriage of his sister Charlotte. Now he was advancing on Paris, becoming famous whilst Ludwig was forced by his father to stay at home: 'I am the only one of the young German princes who has not fought in this holy cause (who was not permitted to do so).'

Victories continued, and on 31st March the Allies entered Paris, close on the heels of the defeated French army. Then came news that Napoleon had been dethroned. When the Princes declared that there would be no more negotiations with Napoleon or with any of his kind, Ludwig exclaimed: 'Thanks be to God a thousand times. As far as we human beings can foretell, Napoleon will rule no more.'

Shortly afterwards, Napoleon signed the document declaring his 'unconditional abdication', as the Allies had dictated.

Now that there was no longer a war to be waged, and Napoleon was overthrown and banished to the Island of Elba, there could

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, Munich, 27th March, 1814. Munich H.A.

be nothing more for Ludwig's father to fear. Surely therefore he would not refuse his son permission to go to Paris, and in truth this time King Max Joseph agreed. On 20th April the Crown Prince started on his journey, and a week later he was in the conquered capital. 'April weather, sunshine and rain,' Ludwig wrote, 'accompanied my journey—light, changeable weather like the French character, if these people can be said to have character. Here I now am, my dearest wife, one of the Teutons who . . . victoriously entered France's capital, after they had been treated more shamefully than any other nation by the French. When I think of that I am exultant and leap for joy. . . .'¹

In Paris Ludwig met General Wrede, and together they wandered through the city. In the Palais Royal and its neighbourhood were still some doubtful beauties to be seen, but otherwise there were great changes. 'We must do Napoleon justice in one thing,' Ludwig said. 'The buildings are large and beautiful, even if in part they were paid for with stolen money. There was much that was new since the Bavarian Crown Prince had been in Paris eight years before, as, for instance, the column of Victory on the Place Vendôme which the Emperor had erected as a monument of triumph after the campaign of 1805. But the bronze statue of himself which 'the brazen tyrant was vain enough to have set up during his lifetime' was no longer to be seen. With the greatest difficulty it had been removed, and the banner with the Bourbon lilies floated there in its stead. 'If the Emperor had reigned longer, Paris would have been unrivalled throughout the world for its beautiful buildings, but freedom has been saved. Art, glorious as it may be, is not the greatest thing; servitude is too high a price to pay for it. . . .'²

On his second day in Paris Ludwig began to pay visits. He first called on the Empress Josephine in the Palais Malmaison, curious to see how she, who had earlier fallen from her high estate, was adapting herself to altered circumstances. The Palais, which was charming but not very large, seemed to him like an enchanted castle. 'Compared with the Parisians, we Teutons are altogether poor creatures as regards comfort in appointments,' was Ludwig's comment.³ 'In the homes of the upper classes, and even elsewhere,

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, Paris, 28th April, 1814. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, Paris, 7th May, 1814. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, Paris, 30th April, 1814. Munich H.A.

there are household effects for which one would search in vain in the palaces of German princes.'

The Crown Prince found the Empress Josephine rather stouter, but much better-looking than formerly. Eagerly she began to discuss the events of the past few years: 'The whole Bonaparte family are hypocrites. That is why they are now forsaken by everyone; even Rustan the mameluke, the Emperor's shadow, has deserted him.' After they had dined, ices and tea were served in the 'library' where, however, there were so few books that Ludwig would not have known it was a library unless he had been told.

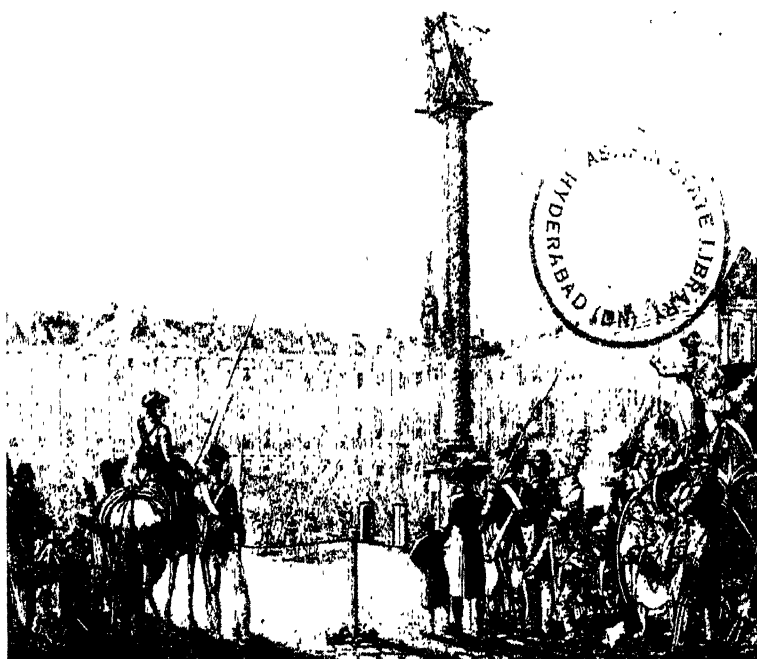
After this Ludwig paid twelve other visits to various royalties who were in Paris at the time, primarily to Francis of Austria, who assured him that he knew well that Ludwig had on every occasion shown his sympathies for the good cause. 'It produced an excellent impression,' the sovereign remarked, 'that you declared your country to be on our side before the Battle of Leipzig. It is on that account that I am in favour of Bavaria's remaining great.'

On 3rd May the Bourbon entered Paris as King Louis XVIII. He was a somewhat tragic figure, placed on the throne by the enemies of France, without money and without followers. Not even the horse he rode was paid for. The crowd, which always cheers anything which seems to be in power, did so on this occasion; but on the faces of the troops who marched with Louis, amongst whom were some of the old Imperial Guard, dissatisfaction was clearly visible. The Court ladies who were in the ceremonial procession might wear white dresses embroidered with Bourbon lilies, but that could not dispel the magic of the Imperial N. visible everywhere on the buildings and in the streets. The military glory which the French eagle had borne victoriously over the whole of Europe still echoed in the hearts of the French. 'At heart they always remain the same,' declared Ludwig; 'they are big children. . . .'¹ The number of Bonaparte's adherents is still considerable, and if he should succeed in returning to France he would again make himself ruler.'²

The new King gave an enormous banquet in the large, domed hall in the Tuileries. Even here the cloth was everywhere covered with N. and the Imperial arms were engraved on the knives and

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Paris, 5th May, 1814. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Paris, 3rd May, 1814. Munich H.A.



REMOVAL OF THE STATUE OF NAPOLEON I FROM THE VICTORY
COLUMN IN THE PLACE VENDÔME ON 8TH APRIL, 1814.

forks. But a King of France was seated at the table with most of the German princes and the Czar of Russia. Crown Prince Ludwig had the agreeable sensation of being a conqueror.

The day closed with a gala performance at the theatre. The English Field-Marshal Wellington also appeared and received a great ovation from the whole house. 'It is an unique experience,' declared Ludwig, 'that an English Marshal, who for years past has defeated and annihilated French troops, should be received with applause in the Paris Opera House by Frenchmen.'

The main topic of conversation was Napoleon. In royal circles the story was told of how furious the Emperor had been when he heard that Marie Luise would not accompany him. He was said to have used the most horrible expressions about her.

Crown Prince Ludwig collected all the information he could and sent it to his father in Munich to give him some idea of what things were like in France and its capital.

Less serious matters also now engrossed the young Prince in Paris, that most light-hearted city in the world, where the bonds of morality and order, never too rigid, had been further loosened by the revolution. The Crown Prince might have been speaking of himself when he wrote: 'It is unfortunately true that the Czar, whilst conquering Paris was himself conquered. This town has become a second Capua.' The beautiful women, both of society and of the *demi-monde*, who fluttered thoughtlessly about these Royalties, held Ludwig also under their spell. In answer to a rather anxious question by his wife about the Parisian ladies, he declared¹: 'They are pretty and very unrestrained, but lack German freshness. . . . One thing must be admitted—they know how to dress and are very well shod.' But Ludwig did not disdain the sweets the gods provided, and gathered French blossoms where he could.

At the same time Ludwig remained loyal to his love of art and made serious efforts to ensure that the paintings and art treasures which had been stolen from all parts of the world, particularly from Rome, should be restored to their rightful homes. 'Europe's systematic despoilers must give back everything,'² he declared, and composed the poem: 'The Roman Treasures' Farewell to Paris.'

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, Paris, 2nd May, 1814. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, Paris, 19th May, 1814. Munich H.A.

For the moment he could do no more, and decided to use this opportunity to visit England, as he was now so near.

On his last walk through Paris, Crown Prince Ludwig noticed that the Imperial N. was gradually being replaced by the Bourbon lily. He met his brother-in-law, Beauharnais, who had left Italy when that kingdom collapsed and had come to Paris to ascertain and, if possible, to influence his fate. Ludwig treated the Corsican's stepson frigidly, for he had not forgotten that he had been the Emperor's mouthpiece, even if unwillingly, and had been used as such to blame or warn him. Under the changed conditions—in spite of his love for his sister Auguste—the ex-Viceroy had now become an object of the greatest embarrassment to Ludwig.

On his last day in Paris Ludwig composed a 'Song of Triumph':

'Two and twenty years of victory and fame
Were not enough to save the French from shame.
On Victory's path France staggered to her doom. . . .
Triumph full deep from out the cup she drank
Till she, in her humiliation, sank. . . .
By fear alone can no strong bonds be forged.'

Shortly after this, on 30th May, 1814, the Peace of Paris was concluded, according to which the new kingdom was limited to its frontiers of 1792. On the whole great leniency was shown, as it was Napoleon and not France who was to be made responsible for everything. But a Congress was first to be held in Vienna which would deal with all questions regarding the Peace.

A little later Wrede concluded a special treaty with Austria in Paris, whereby the Tyrol and Vorarlberg were to be given back to Austria immediately, and later Salzburg and the Inn district were to follow; Bavaria was to be compensated on the Rhine and elsewhere. Crown Prince Ludwig had not been able to influence this agreement of 3rd June, 1814, but he hoped that later on in Vienna a more favourable settlement might be obtained.

On 30th May, 1814, Ludwig arrived in Portsmouth. He wished to visit England as the Count of Haag and not as Crown Prince. None the less, he was greeted everywhere with the greatest courtesy. Again it was the women who fascinated him. Crown Princess Therese thought it suspicious that in his very first letter he wrote of the women: 'English women wear their dresses rather longer waisted,' Ludwig reported, 'with the bosom covered

¹ Enclosed with Crown Prince Ludwig's letter to Crown Princess Therese, Paris, 23rd May, 1814. Munich H.A.

but more clearly outlined than I have seen it elsewhere.' He was immediately struck by the great difference between them and the Parisians. 'People here are far more natural: it is strange, however, that whilst on the one hand there is greater freedom, on the other more attention is paid to etiquette and traditional customs than elsewhere.'¹

Ludwig added that the lords of creation were very courteous. After dinner the ladies left the table, and then even the older Princes told such indelicate stories with so much abandon that he was quite astonished.² London, with its 1,200,000 inhabitants, pleased him enormously. 'Nowhere is there such freedom combined with respect for the Throne and for the sacred person of the King,' he wrote to his father.³ Every day Ludwig received invitations to dine with the highest in the land, even from the Prince Regent himself. There was a great deal of heavy drinking in England. 'I am learning it here,' Ludwig reported, 'but I have not been drunk once on this island, which cannot be said of all of the one hundred and twenty people who were invited to dine with the Prince Regent.' With the greatest interest he visited the Foundling Hospital: the foundlings pleased him exceedingly, for they were nearly all 'love children' and beautiful as the day.

All England endeavoured to show its gratitude to the victorious ally, but in spite of the succession of dinners, receptions, and other festivities, Ludwig found time to visit the picture galleries and museums. He could scarcely tear himself away from Andrea del Sarto's 'Holy Family'. Enviously he admired the works of art taken by Napoleon from Egypt and later captured by the English. With mingled indignation and admiration he stood before the Parthenon Reliefs which 'Lord Elgin's vandalism' had ruthlessly broken from their setting. Some of them had been sunk at sea during their transport, only to be recovered with great difficulty. Everything he saw had come from Greece and Italy, only the classic soil and the eternally blue sky were missing. It seemed to Ludwig as if in the fog of London all these art treasures must long to be back in their homes.

At several of the festivities here Ludwig met the Grand Duchess Katharina, the much courted sister of Czar Alexander, whom he

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, London, 3rd June, 1814. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, London, 21st June, 1814. Munich H.A.

³ Letters from London, dated 3rd, 6th, 10th, 12th, and 13th June, 1814, to King Max Joseph and Crown Princess Therese. Munich H.A.

had been so anxious to marry. She was at that time a widow, her husband, the Duke of Oldenburg, having died in 1812. The Princess was a very beautiful, charming woman, gracefully coquettish, with dark hair, delicate boyish features, and large naïve eyes. Her fresh complexion and wonderfully white, delicate skin amazed Ludwig. He found her very witty and amusing, although rather reserved with him. The Crown Prince studied her well, trying to discover what she would have been like as his wife. She was not quite feminine enough for him: 'I am more romantic and she more coldly intellectual. But we have some qualities in common which would have prevented us from being happy if we had been married. She would undoubtedly have wished to domineer over me. She is also rather sarcastic and likes to make fun of people. I am glad Therese is my wife.'¹ Ludwig noticed that the Crown Prince of Württemberg was paying court to Katharina. The unhappiness of his marriage with Ludwig's sister Charlotte was clear to all, now that its only *raison d'être*—the fear of Napoleon—had disappeared.

At this time Ludwig dreamed that his House might some day succeed to the throne of England if the heiress to the throne, Princess Charlotte, were to marry his brother Karl. 'You are aware, dear Father, that she refused the proposed marriage with the Prince of Orange and he has returned to Holland. What a tremendous difference there is between him and my brother Karl, entirely in the latter's favour. . . . Your descendants would then reign over Great Britain, and what support that would be for Bavaria. It is most desirable that Karl should undertake this journey before another anticipates him. . . . It is worth while making an effort to enable your family to rule in five Continents.' It was, however, too late. Crown Prince Ludwig had no idea that the handsome young Prince Leopold of Coburg, who was staying in London in the suite of the Czar, had already made a decided impression on Princess Charlotte.

Ludwig's desire to see his family united with the English Royal House was not due to ambition alone but also to enthusiasm for conditions in Great Britain. He marvelled that the English people paid their sovereign, George III., all the honour due to him although he had for years been mentally afflicted and blind. There was no more to be hoped for or feared from him, and yet

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Queen Caroline of Bavaria, London, 26th June, 1814. Munich H.A.

sympathetic love and veneration were accorded the suffering monarch. The rights of prince and people were equally sacred, and both throve under these conditions.

'Yes,' decided the Crown Prince,¹ 'the great political upheaval has not extended to this country. . . . The people have retained their traditional customs of law and order . . . and they are better off; these opinions have long been mine. Where written law is not regarded, arbitrary power takes command. . . . But one must not dream that England is ideal—crime also exists . . . but where in this world can we find perfection?'

There was one aspect of English life with which Ludwig wished to become more closely acquainted—life in the country. On 7th July, 1814, he left London in blazing sunshine to go to Fisherton, where lived a schoolmaster named West, who was a distant relative of the painter, Benjamin West, known as the 'historical painter to the King'. He had met Crown Prince Ludwig in Paris as an expert on the art treasures which Napoleon had stolen. Now Ludwig sought out the family. West's charming daughter, Mary Ann, greeted him and showed him over the house and garden. Charmed, Ludwig regarded her from head to foot. A few days later, on 12th July, he appeared again. Mary Ann played the piano and sang a song written when Napoleon threatened to invade England; a new verse had been added recently in praise of Wellington. The young girl and Ludwig discussed the different conditions in Germany and England, also the women in both countries. Charmed by Mary Ann, the Crown Prince declared: 'English women are the best.' His adjutant Pappenheim would not hear of German women being put second, whereupon the girl cried: 'Quite right, I like that. Everyone must stand up for his own country.'

That again was very English, but Ludwig was willing to be given a lesson by so beautiful a girl. He was so enchanted with her that the thought of parting was unbearable, and he told her so in the garden. At that the tears rolled down her cheeks and, touched and surprised, Ludwig realized how great an impression he had made. He sat down and composed a poem to her and could scarcely refrain from 'pressing his lips upon hers'. But something about her, her helplessness and sweetness, held him back. Others then joined them and the discussion began anew.

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, London, 7th July, 1814. Munich H.A.

Napoleon and France were an inexhaustible subject. The Crown Prince gave vent to his innermost feelings and spoke bitterly about the French as a whole. Again Mary Ann contradicted him: 'It is not possible to condemn a nation as a whole. There are good and bad in all.'

'It is all very well for you English on your island,' replied Ludwig. 'You are lucky. You cannot hate the French as we Germans do, after all we have suffered at their hands.'

The time had now come for Ludwig to return. The carriages were already waiting, but he let them wait a long time while he walked once more through the garden with Mary Ann and handed her a poem entitled: 'Farewell to Fisherton.' Then he shook hands all round and once again with that sweet girl who had tears in her eyes. It was with a heavy heart that Ludwig embarked at Dover to return to the Continent. 'Farewell England, guardian spirit of European Freedom, the home of many good men; Farewell! . . .'

Taking no notice of the people around him, the Crown Prince watched the white chalk cliffs of the English coast until they disappeared. 'The Royal Prince must be in love,' said the Captain when he perceived that Ludwig was writing poetry:

'Dearest, I must ever love thee,
Though my life should cease to be.
In the grave's cold gloomy vastness
Still my heart will throb for thee.'

Then to distract his thoughts the Crown Prince opened Hume's *History of England*. . . .¹

The Heir to the Throne did not linger in France, but continued his journey to Frankfurt, where he found a momentous letter from his brother-in-law, the Crown Prince of Württemberg, who now declared his intention of divorcing Charlotte quietly and without casting any slur upon her honour. It was obvious he was thinking of an alliance with the Grand Duchess Katharina. Princess Charlotte with her suite had already left Stuttgart and was staying at *Schloss Neuburg* on the Danube. Wilhelm of Württemberg had his marriage dissolved by the Protestant Consistory Court in Stuttgart. Charlotte had expected the news daily, but when it arrived she felt as if a new misfortune had overtaken her. Finally she too applied to the Pope for an annulment of the marriage.

¹ The episode in Fisherton is described from entries in Ludwig's diary from 12th to 18th July, 1814. Munich H.A.

In Frankfurt Ludwig visited the great patriot Freiherr vom Stein, whose motto: 'I know only one Fatherland and that is Germany' had aroused the enthusiasm of the Crown Prince. They walked up and down the garden of the Baron's house and, filled with eagerness, Ludwig expounded to him on the happiness of the people and the rebirth of Germany. He spoke with great fervour and did not realize in his deafness that he was shouting. At length his host was forced to interrupt him: 'Your Royal Highness is speaking so loudly that people outside will think that I am holding a Jacobin meeting here.'¹

Stein, however, did not keep his own counsel but disclosed Ludwig's intentions. This made the King of Bavaria very angry, and he exclaimed: 'My son is a strange fellow. He wants to be on good terms with me and loves me dearly, yet he intrigues with Stein against me and the interests of my country.'²

The King heard that Ludwig was dissatisfied with the agreement reached in Paris that Salzburg should be given up. 'Do not forget,' his father wrote to him, 'that when I was negotiating with Austria you said that it would be better to restore everything and to retain merely my former possessions, so that there should be no cause for misunderstanding. The agreement was based on this principle.'

'I implore you, my dear Father . . .' Ludwig replied, 'to retain at least the part in which the town lies. . . . I attach particularly great importance to Salzburg.'³

King Max Joseph, however, did not wish to hear anything more on the subject from his son: 'In politics everyone has his own opinion; mine has served me up to the present, for I flatter myself that I have managed to extricate myself very well from a difficult position. I am proud of the fact that my opinions are directly opposed to those of Freiherr vom Stein and his infamous sect (the "League of Virtue"⁴) and I hope that I shall, in spite of this damned league, come through my difficulties with honour and glory. If one has no other object in life than the happiness of one's kingdom and subjects, one can hold one's head high and have a clear conscience.'

¹ Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Meine Wanderungen*.

² From a note sent by King Max Joseph to Wrede, September, 1814. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Salzburg, 26th August, 1814. Munich H.A.

⁴ The *Tugendbund*, a secret society in Germany, 1808-1816.

The Crown Prince shook his head. He realized that so long as Montgelas was at his father's side he himself would never agree with the King in political matters. Apart from this, however, his wife, Therese, considered that Ludwig was quite a different person since the downfall of the 'monster'. He was cheerful as he had never been before.

About this time Ludwig received a letter from his sister, Auguste Beauharnais, who pleaded her husband's cause with him. Eugène was in great need of help. Preparations were being made for the Congress in Vienna, where all outstanding questions were to be settled. Eugène was anxious to be present in order to fight for his own future and that of his family. 'Everything that you may do for him,' she wrote to Ludwig, 'will be done for me. You know what we were and what we are now. . . . I hope that Eugène will be treated in Vienna as befits the son-in-law of the King of Bavaria—he has deserved to be, but this is not certain. . . . Every humiliation offered to him would be a dagger thrust into the heart of your sister.'

General von Wrede, who had been promoted to Field-Marshal and princely honours, was once more the intermediary between Max Joseph and his son. After Ludwig's assurance that he would not belong to the *Tugendbund*, he was permitted to go to the Congress at Vienna. The Allied Princes and chief Statesmen of all the countries concerned, including France, were assembled on the Danube. The King of Bavaria and his two sons also made their appearance, and on 18th September the Congress opened. Montgelas, of course, could not attend, for his former policy was not forgotten. On reaching Vienna the King and his two sons immediately visited the Emperor, who, together with the Czar and the Czarina, received the princely visitors.

Ludwig went everywhere and took part in everything. He was enchanted with the town and its buildings. He regarded the old Imperial city with a critical eye, almost with the eye of an architect who wishes to improve and rebuild. The walls and the outer forts, which Napoleon had blown up in 1809, still lay in ruins. But at that time Vienna only thought of festivities and was, as it were, intoxicated by the round of gaieties. It gave Ludwig a 'blissful feeling' to be there again after events of such tremendous importance: 'The most burning desire of my life has been fulfilled: Bavaria on the side of Austria; the rulers of both countries united in cordial and close friendship; France

defeated at last, and more completely than the boldest had ever dared to hope.¹

In Vienna also Ludwig found very beautiful women, and was not indifferent to them. He had plenty of time, for his father and Wrede would not allow him to interfere in political affairs. Suspiciously the King watched Ludwig's friendships, lest any of them should bring confusion to his political plans. Thus the Monarch and other Bavarian representatives were far from pleased at the friendship between Friedrich Wilhelm III and the Crown Prince. But Ludwig was delighted: 'The King of Prussia is great friends with me; he is so jolly that he amuses me.'²

The political struggles around the Congress table found their complement in the Vienna *Salons* in the rivalries of the various Royalties. Old animosities were renewed and increased the tension, as, for instance, that between Ludwig and his former brother-in-law, the Crown Prince of Württemberg, who was now paying serious court to Katharina. One day, at the house of Princess Thurn and Taxis, the favourite game of Blindman's Buff was in progress. Ludwig, as usual, susceptible to beautiful women, happened to catch the charming Countess Julie Zichy, whose Madonna-like face even evoked raptures from the King of Prussia. 'Obviously someone was not blind enough,' sneered the Crown Prince of Württemberg. Ludwig turned round furiously: 'You make a point of saying disagreeable things to me. I trust you will take that back immediately.'³ Both Crown Princes left the room at once, and a duel might have ensued but for the intervention of Prince Wrede. After that episode these two avoided each other. As a result, however, the Grand Duchess Katharina developed a strong antipathy to her former suitor, and whenever possible made fun of him.⁴ Amongst the ladies of the British Legation she found others ready to imitate her, for Ludwig's English and his stammer together were often very funny, particularly when the Prince was endeavouring to pay court to young and pretty women.⁵ Apart from this, however, the Bavarian Crown Prince was very well liked.

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, Vienna, 8th October, 1814. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Princess Therese, Vienna, 22nd October, 1814. Vienna St.A.

³ Police Report to Hager, Vienna, 11th October, 1814, taken from Weil's *Les dessous du Congrès de Vienne*, No. 337, p. 268.

⁴ Montgelas, p. 389.

⁵ Fournier, *Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress*, Vienna, 1913. Speech on 27th December, 1814, p. 315.

Once, on the occasion of a visit to Marie Luise at Schönbrunn, Crown Prince Ludwig saw Napoleon's son for the first time, in the very building where he had last seen the boy's father. He thought the boy very like his father, particularly in his movements.

The 18th of October, the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, was approaching. Twenty thousand people, sitting at very long tables, were the Emperor's guests at an enormous banquet. There was an atmosphere of pleasurable excitement which affected everyone. Archduke Johann clinked glasses with Wilhelm of Prussia and with Ludwig: 'May God keep us ever united that Germany may flourish.'

The general feeling of gaiety amongst the Royal guests was further increased by the beautiful weather. They threw off all restraint and became riotous like children. This was the same on every occasion, even at the shooting parties, which in those days still took place in the Prater but which irritated all real sportsmen, Ludwig amongst them; he described this 'sport' indignantly¹: 'More than once when a deer or fawn would not come out to meet certain death it was literally dragged out of the wood by hand . . . neither Karl nor I fired when that happened, and the Russian Emperor saved a deer in his umbrella.' When they shot near Schönbrunn whole herds of wild boar were driven in front of the 'sportsmen', and on one occasion Ludwig killed twenty-one and his father thirty-one.²

As soon as it was dark, festivities and masquerades began. The Crown Princess was thankful that she was not obliged to join in this gay life. She was troubled when rumours reached her of quarrels between the two brothers and differences of opinion in political matters between the Crown Prince and his father.

There really had been a 'storm' between Ludwig and Max Joseph because the son had interfered too much in politics to suit his father. The Crown Prince even called it a 'hurricane'. The King became very angry on such occasions, but the more excited he grew, the quieter Ludwig became. He spoke gently to his father and also to his brother Karl, and the whole affair was soon over.

Many such clashes took place behind the scenes amongst the members of the various delegations, and still more amongst the

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Vienna, 22nd October, 1814. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Vienna, 12th September, 1814. Munich H.A.

Powers represented at the Congress. Soon two groups were formed. On the one side were Austria, England, and France, and on the other Russia and Prussia. The fate of Saxony, which had been too late in breaking with France, and of Poland were discussed with great heat. But nothing was allowed to interfere with the festivities. The sovereigns were often so unrestrained that the servants found it difficult to retain dignity and gravity. A number of the younger princes grew very lively on one occasion at Schönbrunn, at a dinner party given by the Empress. 'There was such a tickling and a jostling,' Ludwig wrote, describing it. 'The King of Württemberg's belly shook with laughter; I knocked over part of the table, which luckily had already been cleared. . . . I have never before behaved like this for such a length of time.' All sense of seriousness was lost.

After the theatre there was always a ball, often one or two different parties. Under such circumstances it was not surprising that a caricature of the six sovereigns who were present in Vienna was passed from hand to hand, in spite of the efforts of the Police to obtain it. Underneath the picture of the Czar was written: 'He loves for them all'; under that of King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia: 'He thinks for them all'; under that of the Danish King: 'He talks for them all'; under the Bavarian King: 'He drinks for them all'; under the King of Württemberg: 'He gorges for them all'; and under that of the Emperor Francis: 'He pays for them all.'

At a ball one evening Ludwig appeared in a sky-blue domino. He went up to the Emperor of Austria and said to him: 'It is the colour of fidelity.'

'I stake on it,' replied Francis.

'Your Majesty may safely do so.'

It was precisely in his relations with the Emperor of Austria that the difference between Ludwig and his father was evident. One day General Hadik, who had been attached to the members of the Bavarian Royal Family, paid a special visit to the Crown Prince to inform him of a remark by Francis I: 'As long as the King of Bavaria is in Vienna, he will be well disposed towards me; but I cannot be sure what will happen when he has gone away. But I can rely on the word of the Crown Prince.'

Ludwig was a favourite with the great ladies of the Congress, particularly when he joined their intimate circles. It was then obvious that he was more intellectual than most of the other

royalties present. The result was that the royal ladies opened their hearts more to him than to others. The Bavarian Crown Prince had a charming way of paying compliments and making himself generally agreeable. Even the Czarina was pleased when he casually remarked that she, more than any other woman, was born to be an Empress.

'Oh, no,' she parried, 'rather to live a quiet, domestic life.' 'One can see that she is not happy,' thought Ludwig.¹

Ludwig also visited Maria Ludovika of Austria, the third wife of Francis I. Very often they were alone and could talk intimately.² Once she received the Crown Prince in her bedroom; she was wearing a pink and white *négligé* and let him sit on the sofa beside her. 'Tell me, dear Therese,' Ludwig wrote to his wife, 'does this not sound very suspicious—a fairly young Empress with a young Prince? But the subjects we discussed would have refuted any suspicions. . . . ' Politics and the Crown Prince of Austria were the topics of conversation: 'Ferdinand is a unique phenomenon of nature,' she said, 'very backward both physically and mentally. His head was too large when he was born and no one thought that he would live.' At night he was tied into his bed so that he should not fall out. Once, in order to quiet him, his nurse gave him so much opium that for hours it was impossible to wake him. 'The reason he does not look anyone in the face is that some doctor had the idea that it would benefit his brain if he were made to look at the sun for hours on end. At the age of sixteen he still had his baby teeth, and until then had not been allowed to touch a knife or a pair of scissors. But he has a beautiful face.'

The Crown Prince was horrified. He listened and expressed his sympathy with the Imperial Family in their misfortune—and then he remembered his duty to his own country. Slowly and imperceptibly he brought the conversation round to Salzburg, and praised the beauty of its surroundings but not its climate: 'Oh, Your Majesty, the whole of the Tyrol belongs to you, also Carinthia, Styria, and so many beautiful places! I always think of what the prophet said to King David: "You have so many sheep and you take another man's ewe lamb."'

The Empress smiled and said: 'You are not far wrong, *mon Cousin*.'

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Vienna, 21st November, 1814. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Vienna, 27th November, 1814. Munich H.A.

The Crown Prince continued to hope that Bavaria might retain Salzburg, and went to St. Stephen's Cathedral to pray for it. The venerable building made a great impression upon him. 'Such a church is a witness to bygone generations throughout the centuries. How many prayers have been offered up to God there! How many tears have been shed there, tears of repentance, of sorrow and of joy. How many couples have been united there. . . .'

In the meantime an almost complete rupture had taken place between the chief powers at the Conference table, in spite of all the festivities which were used to conceal the real state of affairs from the outside world. 'At no Congress,' stated a confidential report on 9th December, 1814, 'has secrecy been so well preserved. There is no leakage. The gentlemen are all ashamed to let it be known that nothing is being done: that is the real secret.'¹ The reason lay in the impossibility of coming to an agreement about a division of the spoil amongst the Allies. Talleyrand, France's representative, said to Prince Eugène on one occasion: 'The dinner will soon be over, and I fear we shall have cannon-balls for dessert.'²

The victorious powers were indeed so much at variance with each other that hope began to revive amongst the vanquished French. Even Napoleon on Elba scented the first breath of dawn. Prussia must not be allowed to annex Saxony, and Poland must not be given to Russia. On 3rd January, 1815, Austria, France, and England had concluded a treaty against Prussia and Russia; and there was talk of a war in which Bavaria would fight on the side of France.

In spite of all this, the Princes continued their life of indulgence. Only Ludwig of Bavaria found no more pleasure in it. At a banquet given by the Archduke Anton, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, the young princes threw bread pellets at each other, and then threw the contents of the salt cellars into each other's eyes, which all resulted in great noise and disturbance. The non-combatants on both sides suffered most. After the meal the noise began in real earnest: Prince Karl of Bavaria tried to jump over a table, and in doing so knocked over the old Duke of Sachsen-Teschen, who laughed and did not mind. That was too much for the Bavarian Crown Prince; he was far too depressed by the dark clouds which were gathering over the Congress whilst

¹ Weil, *Polizeibericht* to Hager, Vienna, 9th December, 1814, p. 660.

² Weil, *Polizeibericht* to Hager, Vienna, 3rd November, 1814, p. 457.

its members continued to feast and dance.¹ 'But it is good from one point of view,' Ludwig declared to his sister Charlotte; 'it gives a deep insight into human nature, and shows how much one can depend on each individual prince when he may be called upon to intervene decisively in the history of his country.'

In the meantime there was a growing demand in Bavaria, as everywhere amongst the German people, for more liberal institutions as a reward for all that they had done. The King and Montgelas wished to anticipate this, and drafted a new constitution themselves, which would be more bearable than one which might be forced upon them. When the draft was completed it was shown to Ludwig in order that, as the future Sovereign, he might give his opinion. He, like every Crown Prince, was in favour of granting freedom to the people, and his ideas were not far removed from those of Wilhelm von Humboldt who said: 'The State is a necessary evil; its powers must be limited in such a way that it hinders the free individual development as little as possible.'

'Let every man have the right to say and write what he thinks . . . as long as propriety is preserved,' Ludwig wrote in his diary. 'If opinions can be freely expressed, Truth must in time prevail.'²

In a memorandum Ludwig laid down his views in favour of extension of the people's rights. He knew that the limitations of the Royal power which he now proposed, would also be binding on him in the future. Yet in spite of this he wished to give the Diet the power to impose taxes—he wished, in fact, to make Bavaria's Constitution the most liberal one in existence.

'Unless it be stipulated that no laws or taxes can be imposed, and no debts incurred, without a majority in the Diet,' declared Ludwig, 'it would be better that no Constitution were granted.'

Ludwig's memorandum was submitted to the Committee of the Constitution Commission, but there the matter rested for the moment. The great events which followed thrust all else into the background.

A decision had been arrived at in Vienna in February, 1815, regarding Poland and Saxony. The solution, however, satisfied no one concerned, and the split in the Congress remained. To conceal it from the public, brilliant social functions continued

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Vienna, 5th February, 1815. Munich H.A.

² Entry in the diary of Crown Prince Ludwig, 1st January, 1815. Heigel, *Quellen*, p. 387.

to be held. Tableaux vivants were organized; the Countess Julie Zichy appeared as Raphael's Madonna, and for days nothing else was spoken of in Vienna. On the evening of 7th March, there was a special performance of the *Burgtheater* at Court. Suddenly, like a bomb, the news burst upon the gay assembly: 'Napoleon has left Elba!' No one knew where he had gone; some believed Naples, others declared that he had landed in France. There was terrific excitement on every face. The Princes gathered in the ballroom and unanimously decided to take most extreme measures. Metternich, who was calmer than the rest, turned to Prince Wrede: 'If only we had taken your advice in Paris and not left Bonaparte alive, or at least had imprisoned him in a fortress!'¹ Even Max Joseph elbowed his way through the crowd in order to assure the Princes and Talleyrand that he, too, would take part in the campaign against the Corsican. Ludwig declared loudly: 'The Emperor Napoleon and the King of Naples must be taken prisoner together and both dealt with summarily.'² But that was not so easy. Mingled with consternation and surprise was also fear that the 'monster' would again raise an army and plunge Europe afresh into fire and carnage. Ludwig had repeatedly declared that Elba was no prison but merely a rallying ground for a fresh venture when the opportunity offered. The Corsican believed he could reckon on dissensions amongst the Princes in Vienna, and that the right time had come.

'What the whole world prophesied from the first has now happened—the bird has escaped from the open cage . . .' said Ludwig; but he hoped that good would result. Napoleon's return would perhaps provide an opportunity to finish with him altogether and would unite the great ones of Europe—or at least the Princes of Germany—who were now at variance.³

The 'monster' tried to fish in muddy waters in the hope of rising to power through dissensions, as had once been the case. 'But he is making a big mistake, his time will come,' Ludwig wrote to his wife.⁴ Therese shared her husband's hopes: 'God let him land, but only, perhaps, in order to make his overthrow more terrible.'

Napoleon had landed on the south coast of France with 900

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Vienna, 22nd March, 1815. Munich H.A.

² Baron Claude François de Méneval, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Napoléon I depuis 1802-1815*, Paris, 1894, III, 411.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Vienna, 8th March, 1815. Munich H.A.

⁴ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Vienna, 11th March, 1815. Munich H.A.

men, 'like a fool,' according to Crown Prince Ludwig. He issued high-sounding proclamations, and prophesied that his eagle would fly from tower to tower until it reached *Notre Dame*. In truth his name still possessed a certain magic; he was not altogether wrong when he said: 'France is yet mine.' Napoleon left Elba on 26th February, and on 20th March he entered the Tuileries amidst the acclamation of the people. The Rule of the Hundred Days had begun.

Louis XVIII fled, it is true, but instantly the Princes in Vienna were reconciled. Disputes were forgotten. Napoleon was unanimously declared an outlaw and war to the knife agreed upon. A great deal of blame for the recent events in France was laid at the door of Czar Alexander, who had always urged forbearance towards the Corsican—'this worst specimen of humanity,' to quote Ludwig's words, 'who embodied in his person all the horrors of hell.' On 31st March a year would have passed since the Allies had taken Paris. A big ball was to celebrate the event, but now that Napoleon was back in his capital and the King had fled, this had to be cancelled to avoid appearing ridiculous. Ludwig's entourage left him to join the colours, and Ludwig himself could no longer be kept back. He wished at all costs to go with his army at last 'to fight against Bonaparte, the enemy of mankind'.¹

He left Vienna and went to Salzburg. He found the parting hard, particularly from the simple, pretty Viennese Toni A. of whom he was enamoured.

Ludwig had as yet no idea in which capacity he would go to war, but that he would go was certain; he therefore again put his house into order. On 25th April at Salzburg he drafted a letter, part of which, in the event of his death, was to be given to the King, and part to his son Maximilian on the day he attained his majority.

'The things the living may not say may be said by a dead man,' he wrote in his letter to Max Joseph.² 'I give my word of honour that I have never been a member of any secret society, not even of the *Tugendbund*, however much I endeavoured to harm Napoleon. . . . Your Government will never have the confidence

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Princess Charlotte, Salzburg, 17th April, 1815. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, draft of letter, Salzburg, 15th April, 1815. Munich H.A.

of your own country or of any foreign Powers as long as Count Montgelas is Minister.'

He gave grave and urgent warning to his son: 'I saw to it that you should be well brought up,' the letter stated,¹ 'but when a man reaches years of discretion, and the so-called period of education is over, he has to educate himself. . . . God desires love: let love fill your whole being. Max, be a German, be a Bavarian. . . . Do not separate the Bavarian from the German. Enlarge your kingdom, but never through injustice. A country is not happier because it is bigger. There is nothing more criminal or horrible than an unjust war: never wage war for family reasons, but only for your people, only for Germany. . . . Let the people have the greatest possible freedom consistent with the duties of a King; let it be legal freedom. . . . Only that Throne stands firm which is built on love and confidence; these cannot be commanded, they must be merited. . . . Mere fear can hold for a time but makes enemies of those who serve. Can there be a greater example of this than Bonaparte and Europe?

'Religion is necessary for the people but even more so for the ruler; as blood courses through the whole body so let religion flood your soul. Religion elevates, comforts us in sadness, increases and ennobles joy. . . . The principle that one may do in politics—nay, one ought to do—what is regarded as criminal in private life is nothing less than a dogma of the devil. Be happy. Occupation is the best prescription for that; we are all happier on the completion of work; accustom yourself early to be active and industrious. . . . Read history, my son, without interruption until the day of your death. . . . It is better to become wise through the experience of others than by your own disaster. It would be best if you married a German of your own faith. . . . May no son of mine ever marry a Frenchwoman. . . . Excel through virtue. In conclusion, your father gives you his blessing: God be with you.'

On 17th May Ludwig left to go *viâ* Mannheim to the theatre of war in France. In that town, which was once ruled over by his House, he stayed in the same building that he had entered as a child of five and left as a boy of thirteen. Filled with memories, he wandered about the walls of the dismantled fortress, and then seated himself in an ivy-covered corner to read. It was in

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his son Maximilian, draft of letter, Salzburg, 15th April, 1815. Munich H.A.

Mannheim that he received the news that his wife had given birth to a son on 1st June, 1815. Princess Wrede declared that she had never seen a more beautiful, healthier, or stronger child. The Crown Prince, for sheer joy, underlined the word 'Prince' seven times in the urgent letter he dispatched.

Both the Emperor Francis and Czar Alexander passed through Mannheim on their way to Paris. Ludwig visited them in Heidelberg and was particularly pleased at the good reception accorded to him by the Austrian Monarch, who spoke a great deal about Ludwig's sister Charlotte and her divorce.

The political wishes of the Crown Prince, however, were not fulfilled in the settlement which was drawn up on 9th June as the final work of the Vienna Congress. Bavaria did not retain Salzburg or the Hausruck and Inn districts, and in compensation for them received only a much reduced Palatinate—a territory geographically unconnected with the real kingdom—without the towns of Mannheim and Heidelberg for which Ludwig had so ardently hoped.

The Crown Prince, who did not know that Austria and Prussia had concluded a secret agreement on 12th June by which all territory on both banks of the Rhine, which had not yet been allotted by the Congress, was to be given to Austria,¹ was getting impatient. 'I cannot tell you,' he wrote to his father, 'how I am longing for the moment when we march against the enemy.' Yet he found it hard to leave Mannheim, for during his four weeks' stay there he became greatly attached to a charming girl of the Palatinate, Friederike S. For her also he composed a love poem of farewell :

'Near, and nearer draws the hour of sorrow,
Soon, all too soon, will dawn the empty morrow.
Ah love! my wounded heart in vain doth burn
For happy days that never will return.'

Whilst, all unsuspecting, the Crown Prince was preparing for departure the decisive battle had already been fought. The mighty forces of the Allies, over half a million strong, had invaded France on all sides, and the Emperor was finally vanquished on 18th June at Waterloo by the united English and Prussians under Wellington and Blücher. This time it was really the end. The flower of Napoleon's army was dispersed and annihilated. The Corsican fled without hat or sword; the great military chest,

¹ For further details, see von Srbik's *Metternich*, I, 192, 193.

his carriage, and all his personal effects fell into the hands of the enemy. As a fugitive, without army and without followers, he returned to the capital and was again forced to renounce the throne of France. The swift pursuit of the Allies brought them to Paris and Napoleon fled to the coast.

Ludwig had arrived at Homburg on his way to France. He was still asleep when Count Anton Rechberg entered the room: 'Victory at Waterloo! Napoleon has fled—our cavalry is pursuing the remnants of his army!' With one bound Ludwig was out of bed to welcome the bearer of these good tidings. Then he regretted that he would arrive too late—there would be no work left for him and his Bavarians to do. He at once wrote the 'wonderful news' to his wife in Salzburg, and then hastily continued his journey. On 29th June he was in Nancy: he was on his way to the *Prefecture* when suddenly he began to swear: the *Tricolore* was still flying from a house. Gendarmes hurried to pull it down and the Bourbon lilies were substituted: there were shouts of '*Vive le Roi*', where only the day before they had shouted '*Vive l'Empereur*'.

Apart from this incident, the Crown Prince was overjoyed at the course of events. At Châlons-sur-Marne on 6th July, 1815, he composed a poem entitled: 'To Germany's Mightiest.'

The hour's struck, the hour of requital,
And France's fall is Deutschland's gain,
Joined in a Holy bond and vital
The vengéd world forgets her pain.'

On the twenty-third birthday of Crown Princess Therese, 'the best wife her husband could have found,'¹ Louis XVIII once more entered Paris. Again the Allied Sovereigns appeared in the capital. The war was over, Napoleon's army no longer existed, and the situation was the same as it had been a year previously. Ludwig reached Paris on 12th July. He lived in the Tuileries, in the very rooms he had once occupied as the guest of Napoleon, then believed invincible. On the Place du Carroussel, where Ludwig had so often seen the proud Imperial Guards on parade, Prussian Uhlans were now encamped. At the gates of the Tuileries British sentries were stationed; under the Arc de Triomphe, whose reliefs depicted the Emperor Francis in humble posture approaching Napoleon, Austrian dragoons marched on their way to mount

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Château Thierry, 8th July, 1815. Munich H.A.

guard at the Louvre. Nothing could more impressively have demonstrated the turn of events.

Ludwig approached the Emperor Francis again and entreated him not to allow France, even as a kingdom, to retain any German-speaking territory¹: 'The French have always been, still are, and will remain the enemies of Germany, whichever family is on the throne.'

On the evening of 23rd July, the Crown Prince was invited to dine with Mr. and Mrs. Crawford. The Duke of Wellington was also present and had a great ovation. He was called away in the middle of dinner; a mounted courier had just arrived with important news. Wellington hurried out, and soon returned radiant with delight: 'Bonaparte has surrendered as prisoner of war to the commander of one of my King's frigates in Rochefort harbour.' Thereupon the lady of the house, a very beautiful young Italian, threw her arms round the Field-Marshal and kissed him impetuously on both cheeks.

King Louis XVIII gave a State banquet in honour of this happy occasion; it was held in the same room in which Ludwig had dined with Napoleon. On this occasion Louis was far more polite than previously: when he had given a banquet in those rooms a year before he had had himself served first, although Kings and Emperors were among his guests. Now with his own hands he poured the wine into Ludwig's glass.² It was at this banquet that the Emperor Francis remarked ironically: 'In Paris Louis XVIII is not called "the Desired" but "the Inevitable".'

The Crown Prince was determined to profit by the presence of the Allied rulers in Paris to secure what advantage he could for his country. There was not much to be done. Everywhere he came up against Metternich and his 'non-national ideas'.

Ludwig realized clearly enough that the new Constitution of Germany was a federation in name only; in reality it merely re-established side by side a number of disunited stronger or weaker German States. Italy, with the exception of the northern Provinces which were to go to the Emperor Francis, was to be divided up into separate, independent States. There was no question of unity in either of these countries.

¹ Letter from Crown Prince Ludwig to the Emperor Francis, dated 8th July, 1815; see Sepp, p. 36. The original letter was not in the Vienna State Archives.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Paris, 23rd July, 1815. Munich H.A.

Deeply stirred, the Bavarian Crown Prince foresaw the consequences of all this. He considered that Metternich had prepared the soil in which discord and German weakness would flourish. He was filled with rage against the Austrian Chancellor, whom he blamed for everything, forgetting what was due to this Minister for the final overthrow of Napoleon. Ludwig's hatred and indignation were expressed in a poem:

'How happy were our Fatherland
Were Metternich with alien hand
Not there to lead by crooked ways
And, subtly hidden from men's gaze,
Snake-like achieve his aim.
With promises full generous
He keeps no single pledge with us
And has no sense of shame. . . .

The man heroic!—Women's praise!
Let no one trust those crooked ways;
Expose the lie he lurks behind.
His policy is well defined
By methods underhand,
He struggles not in open fight,
His machinations fear the light.
Beware, my Fatherland.' ¹

King Max Joseph was not so prejudiced against this Statesman, but he was also not so interested in the idea of a united Germany. After the Battle of Waterloo and the capture of Napoleon he was completely reassured, but before these two events he had greatly feared the Corsican: 'Let us hope that the poor King of France will arrange matters as satisfactorily as possible, so that in future we shall not be obliged to share in the confusions of this unhappy country. . . . Bonaparte's cowardly end makes him despicable even in the eyes of Eugène. . . . Thank God we have finished with the man, for even if he returned France would have nothing more to do with him.'²

Crown Prince Ludwig went into a so-called Kosmorama, a kind of panorama, to look at pictures of the Island of St. Helena, where, according to the latest reports, Napoleon was to be taken. He agreed that this small island, so far distant and almost lost in the ocean, was the right place for this man who had harassed

¹ Paris, 29th July, 1815. Munich H.A.

² King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Nymphenburg, 10th August, 1815. Munich H.A.

all Europe and the world for a quarter of a century, and had brought such terrible misfortunes upon them. Ludwig passed his final sentence on Napoleon in a poem¹:

'Master mind, yet base and petty spirit. . . .
Your life's ambition Empire and renown. . . .
The lives of men for you were only ciphers. . . .
And for your dream of power were trodden down.
Rivers of blood were shed at your command. . . .
Now all you did has vanished from the land.'

This phase of history had now closed. Ludwig and his opinions had triumphed. It was natural that his opinion of himself increased, and with it the wish to be listened to by his father and to be given more influence in the government than had been the case hitherto. But this was out of the question. In Vienna he had been scrupulously excluded from politics and this state of affairs seemed likely to be intensified. Ludwig only heard about the 'Holy Alliance', which was being entered into by the two Emperors and the King of Prussia and which was to bring eternal peace and gather all Christian peoples into one family. Of course, such an alliance was also to safeguard the established order as laid down by the victors.

As Crown Prince Ludwig had no part in the negotiations, he had leisure to devote himself to art. He ardently advocated the unconditional return of all stolen treasures. The four famous Byzantine horses were lowered from the Arc de Triomphe in preparation for their return to St. Mark's in Venice. Ludwig had induced the Pope to send Thorwaldsen and Canova from Rome to take back the treasures taken by Napoleon from the Papal State, amongst them the Laocoon group, the Apollo Belvedere, and many Raphaels.

Ludwig congratulated the Holy Father on the return of these treasures, a matter which the Crown Prince had been largely instrumental in arranging. He hoped thus more easily to obtain possession of the Barberini Faun. Pius VII recognized Ludwig's achievements, but, to the latter's great disappointment, remained obdurate in the matter of the Faun: 'A sharp thorn pierces our heart,'² wrote the Pope, 'because we cannot immediately give the answer Your Royal Highness desires.'

Naturally, the Crown Prince also saw to it that the pictures

¹ "Napoleon," *Poems of Ludwig I*, IV, 198.

² Pius VII to Crown Prince Ludwig, 2nd and 29th November, 1815. Munich H.A.

and statues which had been taken from Bavaria were returned. He was assisted in this work by Leo von Klenze, an architect who had formerly been employed by the Court at Cassel and who was soon able to gain Ludwig's confidence. The Crown Prince was already thinking of erecting buildings to house all the treasures he had purchased, particularly his magnificent statues from Greece, and considered the possibility of employing this man. Accordingly he begged his father to take him into his service.¹

Ludwig learned a great deal during his last stay in Paris: 'I went through a regular course of study about men and affairs.'² Again he was full of enthusiasm for a girl, Sophie F.-C., who was half-English. The Crown Prince was 'drunk with heavenly delight' about his lady, but she remained indifferent to him in spite of his princely attributes. He simply did not please her.

'Gloom oft doth hide the sun's bright light,
So grief obscures my heart's delight
As Sophie's glance decides.'

At the same time Ludwig assured his wife with all sincerity³: 'However many hundreds, even thousands of women I have seen, I know of none whom I could compare with my Therese.' Sophie continued to meet his ardent wooing with icy coldness and as the day of farewell approached he voiced his disappointment in verse⁴:

'You could make me happy with a smile,
You could make me happy as the day.
I wooed you and cajoled you all the while,
But cruelly you frown and . . . turn away.'

Soon, however, this little smart, which was a hurt to his vanity, was wiped out by the delight of victory. The Second Peace of Paris, which restricted France to her frontiers of before the Revolution, set the seal on the Allied victory. It was true that the dearest wish of the Crown Prince—the union of Alsace-Lorraine with Germany—remained unfulfilled, and the question of compensation for Bavaria was only half-settled. But for the moment the triumphant knowledge that the mighty, invincible Corsican was on his way to exile on that distant island in the ocean—the joy of seeing the conquered States free once more, helped Ludwig to forget all else.

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Paris, 16th September, 1815. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Paris, 20th October, 1815. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Paris, 25th October, 1815. Munich H.A.

⁴ To Sophie F.-C., 26th October, 1815. Munich H.A.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF POWER

1816-1825

Outwardly Bavaria was freed for all time from the oppression of the 'Monster'. But the elation of the Crown Prince on this account was considerably damped on his return to the capital. In spite of all that had happened, his father retained Count Montgelas in office—the man of whom the French Ambassador had reported to his Sovereign¹: 'Your Majesty will never see in Munich a Prime Minister more attached than M. de Montgelas to French political doctrines.' This coincided with the Crown Prince's view, and was one of the chief reasons for his opposition to the Count; there were, to be sure, religious scruples as well, for Montgelas was a disciple of the progressive school and had done much to circumscribe the power of the Church. Ludwig, on the other hand, owing to his education, was more inclined to favour a religious revival in Bavaria and the return of the monasteries. What followed was a silent struggle between the Crown Prince, to whom his father had at last allowed a greater measure of political influence in recognition of his advice in the Napoleonic crisis, and Montgelas, who retained a strong hold on his power and took credit for the fact that during his term of office Bavaria had become a kingdom and had also grown more powerful.

The position, however, was not yet quite clear. Disagreeable negotiations with Austria were pending. The Bavarian Minister knew beforehand that they were unlikely to lead to a successful issue, and therefore he did not go to Milan, where the Emperor Francis was staying and where the negotiations were to take place, but allowed the Crown Prince to go in his stead. Ludwig did not see through this manoeuvre.

In Milan he was well received by the Emperor Francis, but with rather 'too much pomp and ceremony'. A conversation with Metternich showed him plainly that Austria was quite determined not to make any further concessions to Bavaria,

¹ *Note sur la cour de Bavière, 1816*. Reports from the French Legation in Munich, 1814-1848, compiled by Anton Chroust, Munich, 1935, I, 7.

although the Minister promised in general terms that all questions would receive favourable attention. Ludwig was greatly disappointed. The Imperial splendour which enveloped him could not disguise the rift. 'I am filled with forebodings,' he wrote to his wife.¹ 'I feel gloomy and sad. . . . I have had not a happy moment since I came.' Twice the Crown Prince succeeded in obtaining a private audience with the Emperor. On one occasion he entreated him for three-quarters of an hour²: 'I appeal to Your Majesty's magnanimity, let us keep Salzburg.'

'I cannot be magnanimous in such a matter; I must rule in the interests of my subjects; I cannot voluntarily give up to you such an important position as Salzburg.'

The Emperor would not listen. He rose to his feet; with a little more provocation he would have gone out and banged the door. But at last Ludwig's obstinacy did achieve something. As a result of the treaty of 14th April, 1816, Bavaria emerged with greater, if scattered, territorial possessions than had been hers before the Napoleonic period.

Now that Salzburg had been definitely given up, the Crown Prince had to decide upon a new place of residence. Munich was out of the question. Ludwig was too much opposed to Count Montgelas' policy, and the King himself thought it better that these two poles should be kept apart. Although he now allowed his son more voice in political matters, he did not wish to hand over the reins altogether. When Ludwig complained, the King answered: 'Nothing is nearer my heart, my dear son, than your happiness and that of my House. . . .'³ If I still wish to live in this damned world, it is only in the hope of making the path smoother for you so that instead of thorns you may find the roses which have never been my portion.'⁴ Aschaffenburg was chosen first as the Prince's residence, and later Würzburg.

The King was troubled when he saw how easily Ludwig succumbed to feminine charms. In spite of his position, he was not always a successful suitor. One day he again met Friederike S., the beautiful young girl he had known in Mannheim, but she was now in love with another and was decidedly embarrassed

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his wife, Milan, 3rd February, 1816. Munich H.A.

² *Herzog von Dalberg* to the *Duc de Richelieu*, Munich, 28th February, 1816. Chroust, I, 4.

³ King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Munich, 1st May, 1816. Munich H.A.

⁴ King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Munich, 28th May, 1816. Munich H.A.

and reserved in her attitude. That made a deep impression upon Ludwig; he felt very sad and his vanity was wounded:—

'When I approach the heavens are overcast and clouds enfold thee,
Thou hast no love for me, no longer ring my burning words
Within thy heart. You wish me gone, and all I longed to speak of left
unsaid.

'Twas but a year ago—Can then so swiftly all be changed?'¹

Ludwig's sister, Charlotte, after her divorce from the Crown Prince of Württemberg, was living in Würzburg, and Ludwig now endeavoured to help his sister to start life afresh. He was annoyed at the humiliation offered to his House by this divorce, but satisfaction was at hand. On 13th September, Francis of Austria, in a letter written by his own hand, asked for Princess Charlotte in marriage. The matter was to be kept secret for the present, as the six months of mourning were not over, yet the whole of Vienna knew that the Emperor was to marry for the fourth time.

The Crown Prince was delighted that 'our excellent Charlotte will be compensated in a manner so brilliant and so beneficial to her family and her country.'² Metternich also wrote an enthusiastic letter to the Crown Prince, as he saw in this alliance possibilities of obtaining an influence on Bavaria and thereby securing its political alienation from Prussia. He thought, moreover, that it would thus be possible to carry out the vague promises he had made to Ludwig in Milan.

The chief person concerned—the Princess herself—had been told nothing, and this simple and charming lady was greatly surprised. She had grieved so deeply over her misfortune that her eyes had become weak from much weeping. Now she was to become Empress. Her future husband, whom she scarcely knew, was forty-eight, exactly twice her age, and was about to marry his fourth wife. But it was not possible to refuse an Emperor. The wedding was to take place by proxy in Munich on the 29th of October. Charlotte went to the altar for the second time, prepared to be miserably unhappy.³ Her one comfort was the presence of her brother, for she knew well that she had no better friend in the world.

After the ceremony Ludwig embraced his sister: 'My wish for

¹ Poem to Friederike S., Baden near Rastatt, 12th July, 1816. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Würzburg, 13th September, 1816. Munich H.A.

³ Wolfsgruber, *Karoline Auguste, die Kaiserin-Mutter*, Vienna, 1893, p. 74.

you is that every year may bring you greater happiness in your married life, as it does to your brother.' He understood Charlotte so well because he remembered his feelings at his own wedding. From a political point of view Ludwig was overjoyed, and this found expression in his letter¹ to Metternich, for the young Crown Prince had always longed for the reconciliation of Austria and Bavaria, who, as he said, should never have been enemies.

The new Empress took the name of Karoline Auguste on her marriage, which turned out to be far happier than she had dared to hope. The Crown Prince now had his favourite sister in an exalted position. He could pour out his heart to this clever woman and ask for her help and support for Bavaria and his plans.

A quieter time followed. Ludwig lived in Würzburg and was busy with his books, coins, and pictures. Then, quite suddenly, he fell ill with pneumonia. He felt as if he were 'on the rack'. He was bled nine times in thirty-six hours and literally fought for his life. His strong constitution prevailed in the end. His faith in God was strengthened by the crisis through which he had passed. It came to him as a revelation that this affliction had been sent as a warning that it was his duty to support the Catholic Church.

During long conversations with the Bishop of Würzburg, Ludwig decided to test his influence over his ageing father. This was to take the form of a determined attack on the man whose all-powerful government he regarded as an offence against the consecrated and hereditary power of the King, and which was therefore opposed to his idea of kingship.

As soon as the Crown Prince was convalescent, he endeavoured to put his plan into action. First of all, he wanted to discuss matters with *Freiherr* von Hruby, and requested this Austrian to come to him. Ludwig was still weak, but was looking much better, was cheerful and pleased at his recovery and spoke frankly about conditions in Bavaria: 'I desire urgently that the innumerable trials and vexations of the people be remedied. The finances are in confusion and I long for . . . a just administration. It is imperative that the Ministers be subjected to strict control and held responsible.'² No name was mentioned, but it

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Metternich, Munich, 5th September, 1816. Vienna St.A.

² *Freiherr von Hruby* to Metternich, Munich, 23rd and 30th January, 1817. Vienna St.A.

was evident to whom the Crown Prince referred. 'Consequently Count Montgelas cannot be his choice,' Hruby wrote in conclusion of his report.

Max Joseph's relief at his son's recovery was immense, and Ludwig determined to exploit this softened mood to demand outright the dismissal of Montgelas, whose 'anti-German Franco-phile system' he found 'unbearable'.

On 23rd January, 1817, he wrote: 'Dearest Father,¹ I have ever remained silent and have said nothing to you about Count Montgelas, although a great deal of what I saw in Bavaria and about which I could not speak was responsible for the illness which nearly brought me to my grave. But I can no longer keep silent. . . . Count Montgelas has long lost all confidence both at home and abroad. It is deplorable to watch the steady decline of our finances. . . . He is no longer the man you honoured with your confidence, dearest Father. . . . As long as Count Montgelas remains Minister—although it pains me to say it—my dearest wish, to be always on good terms with you, dear Father, can never be fulfilled . . . it is imperative that a new spirit should pervade the Ministry. . . .'

The Crown Prince decided to take Field-Marshal Wrede, who held the same opinion as himself, into his confidence. He implored him to point out to the King the necessity for the dismissal of Montgelas and, at a suitable moment, to hand him the letter which the Crown Prince had written from his sick bed. Wrede consented. In passionate words he urged upon the King the necessity of dismissing Montgelas. Max Joseph listened with great emotion. The ageing Monarch had to admit that if his own son and the first servant of the State took such a step it could not be from personal motives, but because they believed that they were acting in the best interests of Bavaria. Max Joseph gave in and signed the document for the dismissal of the chief Minister, and the appointment of a Ministry with different principles and aims. Then he went to his son and, with tears in his eyes, embraced him, saying²: 'Montgelas has no longer a Ministry. I have listened to you and we shall have no more misunderstandings.'

His dismissal came as a great surprise to the Minister. Had

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Munich, 23rd January, 1817. Published by Sepp, p. 72.

² *Freiherr von Hruby* to Metternich, Munich, 5th February, 1817. Vienna St.A.

he not taken over the direction of affairs when Bavaria was small in numbers, possessions, and prestige? He, who had worked all his life, according to his convictions and selflessly for King and country, now felt that ingratitude was his portion. Montgelas failed to see that the cause of his downfall lay in the changing spirit of the age, which was personified in the young Crown Prince. A new epoch was approaching. The Crown Prince regarded the King as the Head of the State and not merely as its highest instrument. Greater scope would have to be allowed to the Catholic Church, in fact to religion as a whole. According to Ludwig's ideas, people should be granted more rights. The fall of Montgelas had opened the way for Bavaria's constitution against which the Count had set his face. Great joy was felt by the Crown Prince and his adherents.

France was little pleased by these developments. The Ambassador, the Comte de la Garde, was not well disposed towards the Crown Prince and did not visit him 'because he knew the results of his impulsive and unaccountable moods'. 'He shows great despotism in his character,' was the Frenchman's verdict, 'a too undisciplined spirit, no dignity in his bearing, more severity in principle than in action, and all this will lead to his being surrounded by people whose flattery he will accept as loyalty, and who will exploit with facility his alert intellect and his eager passions. The future of this kingdom gives cause for anxiety.'¹

Ludwig now spent three weeks with his sister in Vienna. From there he followed the progress of the negotiations, undertaken after the fall of Montgelas, with the Church of Rome, which resulted in the conclusion of a Concordat before the year was over. This led to friction between Protestants and Catholics, and the Crown Prince endeavoured to work on the national feelings of the two opposing factions and thus weld them into unity.² 'Just because there is no unity of religion amongst the Teutons,'³ he remarked, 'it is the more essential that a Teutonic consciousness should animate them and prove itself in deeds.'

His serious illness had weakened Ludwig considerably. A relapse was feared in the approaching winter, and the Crown

¹ Comte de la Garde to the Duc de Richelieu, 28th June 1817. Anton Chroust, *Die französischen Gesandtschaftsberichte aus München*, I, 28.

² Max Spindler, *Briefwechsel zwischen Ludwig I. von Bayern und Eduard von Schenk*, 1823-1841. Munich, 1930, XXI.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to Hofrat Luden, Würzburg, 28th September, 1817. Draft. Munich H.A.

Prince was advised to undertake a journey to the south, to Italy and Sicily, whither his nature and his love of art had always drawn him. Before Ludwig started on his long journey he arranged for a tutor to undertake the education of his eldest son Max. Detailed instructions were laid down for him. Great care was to be taken that the young Prince should never know an idle moment. The Christian and nationalist principles, which animated the Crown Prince, were to be instilled.¹ 'You should endeavour to infuse religious feeling into my son; as blood courses through the body so should religion pervade his soul. Teach him the fear of God and still more the love of God. Love is the most sacred thing. Max is to be a German, a Bavarian, but predominantly a German and never a Bavarian at the expense of Germany. Instil into my son hatred of France. How can a Teuton be a friend of France—so long, at least, as France keeps Alsace in subjection—torn from Germany to whom it rightfully belongs.'

On 15th October the Crown Prince left for the South. He was at Syracuse when he heard with sorrow of the early death of Princess Charlotte of England, wife of Leopold of Coburg, who had lost her life when her first child was born.

The sun, the eternally blue sea, and the many monuments delighted the Crown Prince, no less than 'the beautiful eyes of the Sicilian women'. On Christmas Eve Ludwig attended mass in the magnificently illuminated Palace Chapel in Palermo; its gold mosaic decorations so enchanted him that he remarked to his trusty doctor: 'I will build myself a private Chapel like it.'

Ludwig always got up at half-past four, and his first task was to write numerous letters home. The travelling companions were all good friends and comrades together. Etiquette was banished; they roamed about the country on horses and mules. This strange group of riders, who by a coincidence all had singularly large noses, caused much amusement to the population and incidentally much anxiety to the Government, which posted military detachments along every road to protect the reckless Crown Prince of Bavaria against bandits. Luckily, no unpleasant incident marred the journey.

Ludwig at last returned by way of Naples to Rome. There he rented the beautiful Villa Malta. In addition to its luxuriant

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Mr. MacIver, Tutor of Prince Max. Würzburg, 6th October, 1817. Published in full in Heigel's *Ludwig I. König von Bayern*, second edition, p. 65.

park, the house had a magnificent view over the greater part of the Eternal City. It was Carnival time, and the Corso was daily the scene of the greatest gaiety. In the afternoon the Romans drove up and down, and there were great confetti battles. Ludwig and his suite, disguised in dominoes, took part in a hailstorm of white gypsum. The arrogant Portuguese Ambassador who, preceded by two runners, came driving along with his carriage and six and demanded right of way in the crowd, came in for more than his share; His Excellency, in his magnificently embroidered uniform, and his servants in their full gala liveries all looked at once as though they had come out of a flour-bin. The diplomat had no idea that the Bavarian Crown Prince had been his chief assailant. He drove off, but the others returned to take their revenge on Ludwig. The Crown Prince was often recognized by his countrymen and artists, who set upon him until he could scarcely breathe under his mask, and his blue domino looked like a miller's smock. A delightful woman, Signora Angelina A., enchanted him. Ludwig was in his element. 'Here I feel free,' he wrote home happily.¹ 'The obligations imposed by princely dignity (against which I have nothing to say) were left behind when I came to Rome.'

In a noticeable 'old German' costume, which he was forbidden to wear in Munich, he wandered about the Eternal City. Everyone looked at him and many laughed. The Crown Prince noticed it but did not mind. On the contrary, he wished to emphasize how German he was, and was pleased when others copied him. The fashion soon spread from his immediate friends to the German artists in Rome. Ludwig kept in close touch with these artists, regardless of whether they were men of recognized fame or mere beginners. He visited them in their *ateliers*, often in attics, ordered statues and pictures and encouraged them in their work. Like them he was imbued with the ideal of German unity, was in fact more enthusiastic than they and wished every one to know it. With these friends he inveighed savagely against the numerous German governments who were too little concerned with such ideals.

In matters of art it was fresco painting which interested Ludwig most, and he was particularly enthusiastic about Peter Cornelius. He decided to bring him to Munich and to give him the order for frescoes of Greek gods for two halls of the Glyptothek.

¹ Ludwig to Therese, Rome, 3rd March, 1818. Munich H.A.

He also made the personal acquaintance of Thorwaldsen, who was working on a statue of Adonis for him. Ludwig had a high opinion of this man: 'The mantle of Phidias has descended upon you, great man of Denmark.'¹ There was only one great artist whom he avoided and that was Canova, who had raised his voice against Ludwig's acquisition of the Barberini faun.²

Ludwig visited Pope Pius VII and thus saw face to face the man of whom it was rumoured that Napoleon had treated him with physical violence. And now Napoleon was a prisoner on the island of St. Helena, and the Pope, the old man who had been so humiliated, was raised above all men. Thousands were on their knees before him.

Ludwig met with the most interesting people during his stay in Rome. Madame Récamier, still beautiful in spite of her forty years, received him when he called on her and accompanied him on a drive through the Campagna. Then came an urgent letter from Max Joseph, who wished for his son's presence in Munich. The new Ministry had proposed that he should give the people a constitution, and the King did not wish to take such a serious step without his son. The artists, who had felt highly flattered at Ludwig's interest in them, gave their patron a magnificent farewell party. Under the direction of Cornelius, the rooms were beautifully decorated. Everywhere there were works of art, frescoes, oil paintings, and statues. Gravity and gaiety went hand in hand, and national consciousness was not forgotten. Ludwig was delighted. He feasted, danced, and flirted with the ladies, but did not forget his country. 'I thank you all, German artists,' the Crown Prince cried, with raised glass. 'May all who speak German some day be German, and may all Germans be as united as we are to-day.'³

The Crown Prince promised himself that he would repay not only the eighty men who had given him this pleasure, but German art as a whole. He again urged Cornelius to start work soon on the frescoes for the walls of the Glyptothek, which was in the meantime nearing completion and was dubbed by the citizens of Munich 'the mad Crown Prince's building'.

On the 15th of May, the Crown Prince reached Nymphenburg.

¹ Just Mathias Thiele, *Thorwaldsens Leben*, Leipzig, 1856, I, 326.

² See Pölnitz, pp. 121, 122.

³ An account of this is given by Friedrich Noack in his *Deutsches Leben in Rom, 1700-1900*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1907, and by Bibl in his *Thronfolger*, p. 175, also by Ringseis, I, 526.

At home he found the leading men at loggerheads concerning the nature and contents of the proposed constitution, for the draft of which the Crown Prince's memorandum of 1815 had been utilized. The Constitution was published on 16th May, 1818, and was joyously greeted by the people as the first German Constitution since that of Weimar.

Scarcely were the rejoicings in Bavaria over when Metternich began to show his displeasure. Every constitution was in his eyes the work of the devil, a menace to the legitimate order. Until then he had favoured good relations with Bavaria, as the marriage of his Emperor had clearly shown. Now he became suspicious and endeavoured to influence the new Ministers in Bavaria against the liberal tendencies of the Crown Prince. In Munich, after the downfall of Napoleon, the question of the position of Eugène Beauharnais, Max Joseph's son-in-law, came up for consideration. Ludwig opposed his father's intention of elevating Eugène to the rank of a prince of the Royal House, and Napoleon's stepson received only the title of Duke of Leuchtenberg. That caused a breach between Ludwig and his sister Auguste, who continued to fight for the position of her family. Her case was similar to that of Marie Luise, but she did not desert her husband in misfortune, because she had come to love him.

The King and the members of the Ministry were inclined to support the Duke of Leuchtenberg, but the Crown Prince could not bear the idea of a Frenchman, and a stepson of the 'Monster' having equal rank with members of the Royal Family, even if he had married Ludwig's sister. He was sorry for Auguste, although greatly annoyed by the accusation that he himself had advised the marriage with Beauharnais. Eventually a compromise was reached, and the position of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, even after the death of the reigning King, was guaranteed by Ludwig; but for all that, on ceremonial occasions, the Duke had to walk one step behind the princes of the royal house. Thus, in the main, all claims were settled, and Max Joseph embraced his children and thanked God that everything was once more in order.

The French Minister watched the family struggle with the warmest sympathy for Eugène and with the greatest hatred for Ludwig. He gave vent, in his reports home, to his caustic hatred of the Heir to the Throne¹: 'The Crown Prince has the same

¹ Comte de la Garde to the Duc de Richelieu, Munich, 15th June, 1881. Chroust, I, 60.

autocratic character and the same easily inflamed temper as Czar Paul I, he will never admit that he was in the wrong. . . . His morals are most loose. . . . One of the reasons for Ludwig's dislike of Prince Eugène is the latter's great fortune and the splendour with which he surrounds himself—a grand manner of life which is the opposite of Ludwig's almost cynical simplicity. Economical to the point of avarice, he nevertheless spends on building one hundred and twenty thousand of his total income of two hundred and fifty thousand gulden and denies himself everything except remnants of old statues and old paintings. . . . Suspicious to the last degree and distrustful of everyone, he is hard to the poor and to the persons of his *entourage*. When the Crown Prince returned . . . he informed all the Ministers that they were not liberal enough in their views. Teutonism is one of his chief manias. He has a kind of inexplicable, exaggerated preference for Austria. . . . He hates the Prussians and the other German States, and since he does not know how to combine this with his hatred for France he has created a phantom for himself which, passing under the name of Teutonism (*Teutschheit*), is the idol which he worships. He is a chaos of disconnected and irreconcilable desires, which explains his restlessness. Therefore all thinking persons are filled with dismay at the prospect of his accession to the Throne. . . . His moral and religious principles are high and, in many respects, in strange contradiction to his behaviour. . . . If he survives his father, his reign will be a stormy one . . . for his irritability does not come from strength. . . .'

This gloomy character-sketch was biased, but there was a grain of truth in the Comte de la Garde's report. The Crown Prince's manner of life was, in truth, contrary to his religious opinions, and his irritability predicted many a storm during his reign.

But, taking the character of the Crown Prince as a whole, his untiring industry and his sympathetic interest in everything that was of importance for his country far outweighed the deficiencies. He endeavoured to enhance the greatness of his country and his family in every way and worked for it continually. Thanks to his father's foresight and to Charlotte's marriage, the most cordial relations existed with Austria; but that did not preclude friendship with Prussia, Austria's rival in the north, and Ludwig aimed at being on good terms with all. Metternich, who was the embodiment of Austria, was not too kindly disposed towards the restless liberal-minded Crown Prince and his burning desire

for territorial expansion. Realizing this, Ludwig proposed that one of his stepsisters should marry the Crown Prince of Prussia—even though it meant overlooking religious difficulties—so that he might have family ties with Berlin.

In the meanwhile, on 30th September, 1818, the four Allied Powers, Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, met at Aix-la-Chapelle, at the invitation of France, to solve questions which had been raised since the general settlement in 1815. The Emperor Francis went there in person and was able to assure himself of the great prestige enjoyed by Imperial Austria throughout Germany.

The Crown Prince visited the Emperor at Aschaffenburg and once more ventured to express his wishes in detail. Francis I, in an unusually good mood owing to his enthusiastic reception in Germany, listened but evaded an answer, preferring to speak of his wife, Ludwig's sister, upon whom he heaped praises. Finally, after long negotiations, a few small districts were ceded to Bavaria, also a military road as a means of communication with that portion of the Palatinate on the left of the Rhine which she had already received. This decision aroused the greatest indignation in Max Joseph as well as in the Crown Prince, who regarded it as a public violation of the treaty rights formerly granted to them. Bavaria refused to recognize this settlement. Ludwig was furious with the Austrian Chancellor: 'What excuse can now be made for Metternich's indifference to our welfare? He is always asking us to have complete confidence in him, and then he leaves us in the mire!'

Metternich's failure to support Bavaria at Aix-la-Chapelle was a result of the introduction of Bavaria's Constitution which had so angered him. It was also a blow directed against the Crown Prince, whose 'turbulent liberal' principles were a sore point with Metternich. Ludwig did not give in: one letter after another was dispatched to the Empress in Vienna. . . . 'Use your powers of persuasion, wonderful Charlotte, to induce Austria to join in a protest against the Aix-la-Chapelle resolutions.'¹

Karoline Auguste was in a very difficult position. How could she persuade her country to intervene when this country itself had arranged matters thus? Moreover, her marriage was too recent for her to have much political influence—later the knowledge was forced upon her that Metternich's influence with her husband was so great that no member of the Imperial House, not

¹ Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 10th December, 1818. Munich H.A.

even the Emperor's very gifted brothers, could make headway against him. It pained her not to be able to fulfil her brother's expectations¹: 'I see only too plainly from all you write that you are counting too much upon my influence. . . .'

These struggles led to repeated differences of opinion between the King and the Crown Prince, who poured out his heart to Karoline Auguste. The Empress tried to mediate: 'Dear, good, beloved, but rather hot-tempered Brother! Try to discover what arouses violence in yourself, and then our father's anger will no longer puzzle you. Though I am not as easily roused as you, I myself often give way to this fault. I repeat that you should prove to our father that he has no more true or loyal subject than yourself . . . assure him of it on every occasion. . . . It is a question of . . . winning your father's affection.'¹

As meetings between Max Joseph and his son had of late led to stormy scenes, the King sought to avoid them. 'A discussion, my dear Louis, would be an unpleasant affair for both of us. Believe me, your old father will watch over your welfare and Bavaria's as long as God grants him life: but once I am gone you will be free to do as you like. Until such time remain quiet and trust . . . my love for you.'²

Karoline Auguste had also frequently to act as intermediary between husband and wife. A beautiful singer from Italy, Adelaide S., had recently appeared at the Munich Court theatre. She was the daughter of a Cavalry General, and Ludwig had seen her for the first time in one of Rossini's operas. Stendhal described her as exquisitely beautiful although slightly deformed, as proud as a Spanish grandee, with a classic head and a magnificent contralto voice. The Crown Prince fell violently in love with her, visited her repeatedly, and even wrote Italian sonnets to her. The lovely singer was pleased to accept his attentions, but was very reserved; on the night of 29th January she answered Ludwig's poems:

'I love you, but have never been in love,
Yet your loyal friend I am for ever more.'

The affair became the talk of Munich and reached Therese's ears. For the first time she reproached her husband gently, and begged Karoline Auguste to speak to him on the subject. The

¹ Karoline Auguste to Ludwig, Vienna, 28th January, 1819. Munich H.A.

² King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, 17th March, 1819. Munich H.A.

Empress wrote a charming, tactful letter and Ludwig and his wife were reconciled.

'You angel, you would rejoice if you could see us,' Crown Prince Ludwig wrote, thanking her.¹ 'It is your doing . . . how fortunate we are to have a friend like you.'

Ludwig continued to admire Adelaide in secret and some time later commissioned Joseph Stieler, the Court Painter in Munich, to make a sketch of her.

However often Ludwig yielded to the charms of beautiful women, at heart he was well aware that there could be no comparison between them and his wife. He assured her. 'Therese, my Therese, who knows that I would choose her again amongst all other women. . . .'²

'Thou art the one—mine for all Eternity,
Thou Loveliness, and as an angel pure;
Life's storms shall have no power to part us more.'³

He had been fortunate in every respect. Had Katharina of Russia been his wife, Ludwig would already have been a widower. She had become the second wife of the King of Württemberg and had died on 9th January, 1819. Court mourning was ordered for her in Vienna—and this of course included the Empress, Karoline Auguste. The populace jested: 'My husband's first wife as fourth wife of her second husband wore mourning for the second wife of her first husband.'

Meanwhile there were ominous signs on the political horizon. The first *Landtag* under the new Constitution had given various apostles of freedom an opportunity to express their advanced views. This increased the anxiety of Metternich, for whom even the half-liberal government of Bavaria was too extreme. The murder of Kotzebue, a Councillor of State, by a student named Sand, further intensified Metternich's apprehension and moved him at the Carlsbad Conference to lead an attack against all liberal ideas and to oppose those States which had constitutions.

The news that the Carlsbad Conference was discussing measures directed against every liberal movement fanned the flame of excitement throughout the country. 'From Basle to the Baltic the talk is only of conspiracy, and truly what I have heard of it makes my hair stand on end . . .' the King wrote to his son.

¹ Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 30th January, 1819. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig to Therese, Nymphenburg, 15th May, 1819. Munich H.A.

³ Sonnet, *An Dich, mein geliebtes Weib*, Nymphenburg, 15th June, 1819. Munich H.A.

'With firmness and discernment we shall hold our own, but it will be difficult.'¹ Metternich's poison had affected the Monarch, but Ludwig still held firmly to his liberal ideas.

Disturbances of all kinds spread in Prussia and elsewhere, whilst in Bavaria they were soon put down. 'It is just on account of these revolutionary elements,' remarked the Crown Prince,² 'that I attach such importance to a Constitution for Bavaria. Where there is no way of obtaining legal freedom it makes a way for itself and, like a mountain torrent, is destructive and annihilating: instead of improvement there is revolution, a more powerful and therefore more painful method.' At the Carlsbad Conference efforts were made to destroy the freedom of the Press and the independence of the universities. Metternich had completely won over the Bavarian representatives who, on 4th September, 1819, gave their assent to the Carlsbad Decrees. The Crown Prince was indignant and exclaimed: 'If I should one day wear the Crown of Bavaria . . . it would be impossible for me . . . to accept these limitations of the Sovereign's rights.'

Ludwig at once wrote to his father.³ 'Of your own noble free-will you made Bavaria the beneficent gift of a Constitution which should be for all time; we have taken our oath on it and no one can absolve us. You cannot possibly desire a violation which would amount to breaking our oath.' This was plain speaking and caused the King to accept the Carlsbad Resolutions with the proviso that they were only valid in so far as they were not at variance with the Constitution of Bavaria. Metternich was very much annoyed: 'I probably do not stand in the odour of sanctity with Your Government at this moment,' Ludwig wrote to his sister.⁴

Karoline Auguste watched these developments with anxiety, and now begged Ludwig, from the depths of her 'timid heart' to go no further in this matter. 'You are a son, a subject, certainly the first, but nevertheless a subject. . . . As long as kindly Providence grants our prayers for the life of our dear father, action is not for you. . . .'⁵

¹ Nymphenburg, 6th August, 1819. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Aschaffenburg, 7th September, 1819. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to his father, Würzburg, 1st October, 1819. Heigel, *Quellen*, p. 398.

⁴ Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 19th October, 1819. Munich H.A.

⁵ Karoline Auguste to Ludwig, Vienna, 27th October, 1819. Munich H.A.

The Empress could not fulfil Ludwig's expectations on political matters, but she was anxious to help him in other ways. She had known for a long time that it was the Crown Prince's dearest wish to bring the beautiful Barberini Faun from Rome to Munich. An attempt had once been made to smuggle the statue over the frontier by hiding it in an enormous straw wagon, but the great weight attracted attention and the Faun was returned to Rome. When the Empress Karoline Auguste visited the Holy Father in the summer of 1819, she asked if she might make a request:

'It is granted in advance,' replied the aged Pope Pius VII.

'I beg Your Holiness for the liberation of a prisoner.'

'A prisoner? Your Majesty would not intervene for an unworthy person, and you have my promise. Who is it?'

'The Barberini Faun, which belongs to my brother.'

'There now,' declared Pius VII, shaking a reproachful finger at her, 'I should have been more careful. But I have given you my word.'¹ So to the great joy of the Crown Prince, the Faun, drawn by nine mules, left Rome and was brought to Munich.

Ludwig, however, had many disappointments to bear from Francis I, who followed Prince Metternich's advice in everything. Ludwig retained his prejudice against Metternich, of whom he remarked that, without libelling him, one could say² 'he had an exceptional gift for lying and was very prone to make use of it.'

In contrast to the Austrian Chancellor, Ludwig dreamed of encircling all the German States within one customs frontier and thus welding them into an economic whole. This seemed to him the only possible way in which the interests of all the States could be served and the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine won over for Germany.³ Ludwig still grieved for the Palatinate and Salzburg, of which he had once written to his sister: 'If that is lost, half my life goes with it.' He was more resigned at this time, but he had not forgotten.

The Bavarian Crown Prince heard with misgivings that a plan was under discussion to make Munich a fortress. This seemed to him a terrible misfortune, a 'tremendous obstacle' to the development of the town and a danger to everything it contained. 'Do your utmost to prevent this,' he wrote to the Minister of the

¹ Wolfsgruber, p. 106, and Pölnitz, p. 111.

² Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 3rd April, 1820. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Ludwig to *Freiherr von Zentner*, Munich, 11th January and 11th February, 1820. Munich H.A.

Interior.¹ The idea came from the general state of unrest in Europe. In the spring and summer of 1820 revolts had broken out in Spain and Portugal, and political passions were roused in discussions for and against a Constitution. Many believed that 'with the multitude the outcry for a Constitution was nothing more than a vague desire to avoid the necessity for obedience', as Napoleon's Police Minister, Fouché, wrote to the King of Naples in 1813.

The fires which were burning in the Spanish peninsula soon spread to Italy and more particularly to the oppressed kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Metternich realized that his policy was threatened by these revolts, and endeavoured to persuade all the Powers to agree to armed intervention. Gentz, Metternich's confidential literary and political secretary, who had long since given up all his liberal and national ideas and become the Chancellor's tool, was sent to Munich to influence the King in favour of Metternich's policy. The King asked him a peculiar question:

'Do you not think that the Crown Prince of Naples has been directly concerned in this conspiracy?'

'In what way?' Gentz asked, much astonished. 'I have never heard the slightest rumour of it.'

'I am quite convinced of it because my son Ludwig, who, as you know, holds liberal opinions, has spoken far too highly of him to me.'²

The Bavarian Crown Prince was most definitely opposed to any military intervention in Italy. He thought it his duty to warn his sister in Vienna, for he feared that a march on Naples would be followed by a march on Spain and Portugal: 'What we need is quietness and peace. A war may set fire to the whole of Europe . . .' thought the Crown Prince.³

As the Crown Prince did not feel well in the winter, he decided when autumn came to visit Italy again. The Crown Princess, who was expecting another child, was not able to accompany him. Ludwig took a tender farewell of his wife: 'In the whole world,' he said, 'I know of no one I would prefer to you, no one whom I would rather have as my wife. You are mine; would that I could

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to *Freiherr von Zentner*, Munich, 11th February, 1820. Munich H.A.

² Gentz to Metternich, Salzburg, 21st August, 1820. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Nymphenburg, 16th October, 1820. Munich H.A.

be yours alone. But alas for my light inflammable nature! If only it does not destroy your happiness!'¹

On the 17th October, the Crown Prince left for Italy, arriving in Rome on 3rd November. In the Eternal City Ludwig, who had read Schiller's dramas with great enthusiasm, mused how wonderful it would have been could he have taken the poet from the cold fogs of Germany to the sunshine of the South.

'What might not you have become, O Schiller,
And what might you have given to Rome?'²

In November, 1820, there were in Rome no fewer than eighty-seven artists whose mother tongue was German. Thorwaldsen had joined their numbers, that man of whom the Crown Prince remarked: 'As St. Peter's towers over all other churches, so he surpasses all sculptors since the time of the Greeks.' This is perhaps going rather too far, but shows Ludwig's capacity for enthusiasm for plastic art, whose disciples he invited to dinner in turn. With these artists Ludwig roamed about the town and the surrounding country and was as delighted as his friends with the classic features of a charming young girl from Albano. She was painted many times, and Ludwig commissioned her picture from Overbeck and a marble bust of her from Rudolf Schadow. These expeditions generally ended in a cheerful evening in Don Rafaele's hospitable wineshop where *frutti di mare* and other delicacies were washed down with wonderful Spanish wine.

Despite echoes of revolution and war resounding from Naples, the Carnival season in the year 1821 opened in festive fashion in Rome. Ludwig and his little party, undisturbed by revolution or by the cry of war, were not absent from the crowded and decorated Corso where carriages could scarcely make their way. Flour was thrown, also bouquets, flowers, and sweets. 'Beautiful and sweet things to the beautiful and sweet.' A particularly fragrant bouquet was thrown at Ludwig by Napoleon's sister, Pauline Borghese, now advanced in years, a conspicuous person, heavily powdered and painted. The Crown Prince and his suite in their carriage were in such a throng of people that the horses had to be halted. Another carriage came to a standstill beside them. Seated in it, the Crown Prince saw the Marchese Ettore Florenzi from Perugia, whom he had met on his first visit to Rome. With him was his young

¹ Ludwig to Therese, Nymphenburg, 12th October, 1820. Munich H.A.

² From Rome, in memory of Schiller, from one of his most sincere admirers, in November, 1820. The allusion is to Schiller's poem, *Sehnsucht*.

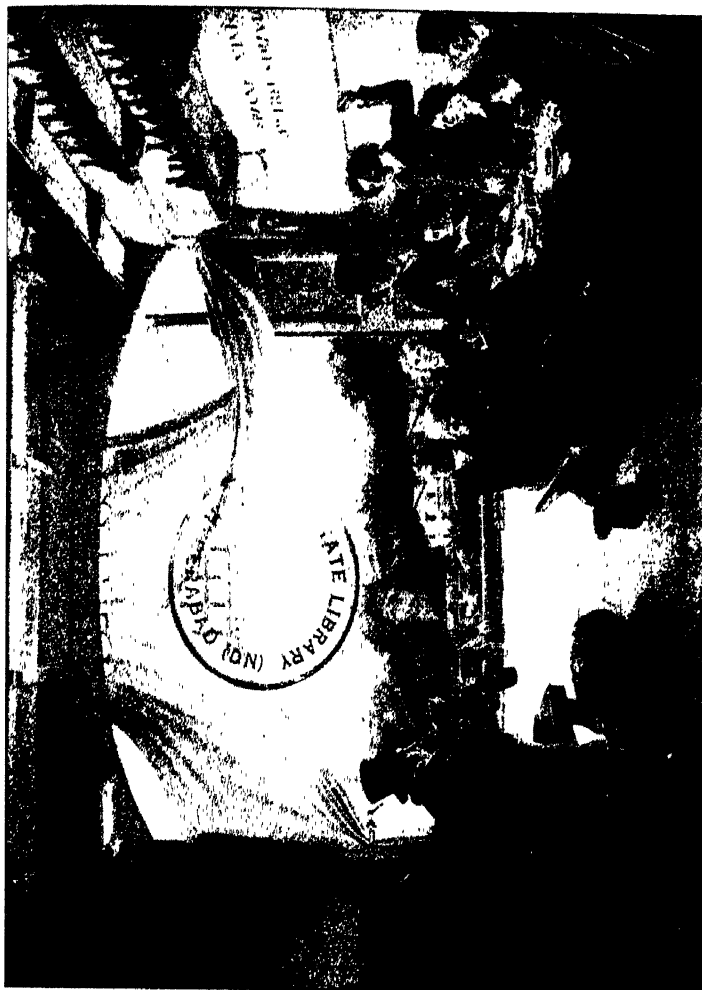
wife, *née* Countess Baccinetti, an enchanting, delicate, slender creature with dark hair and burning black eyes which glanced at the Bavarian Crown Prince inquisitively. Her unusually romantic head fascinated him, and he threw over to her all the wreaths, flowers, and sweets within reach. A wreath came back and a charming little inclination of her head acknowledged the homage. Then the crowd thinned, the horses began to move and the lovely picture vanished.

A few days later, at a ball given by the Austrian Minister, Count Apponyi, the Crown Prince managed to secure an introduction to the eighteen-year-old Marchesa and scarcely left her side the whole evening. To her regret, she had not been invited to a party which was to be held at the Casa Torlonia some days later. She would have so much enjoyed meeting the Crown Prince of Bavaria again, she lamented to a friend. 'Oh, that does not matter,' was the cheerful reply. 'I know the hostess very well. I am going, and will take you in with me.' So the two ladies appeared at Casa Torlonia; the Duchess looked at the uninvited guest in surprise and then said indignantly: 'What, did no one take the trouble to tell me beforehand? That may be done in Perugia but not in Rome.' Crimson with embarrassment and indignation, the Marchesa wished to leave the ball, but just then the Crown Prince greeted her and asked for a dance. The hostess saw that Bavaria's Heir was paying special attention to the Marchesa whom she had just treated so harshly, and at once changed her manner. The Crown Prince's heart was already aflame. Whenever he could he sought the company of this couple; even his beloved artists were neglected, but Pegasus was the more pressed into service:

'For pictures and for palaces no longer do I care,
They all are dead; love only lives, whose favour I would wear. . . .
The burning fires of Italy with Teuton soul unite;
Thou my ideal, transcendent beauty and thy mind so fair. . . .
For me there breathes none other so, my Sweet, if thou art here.
Gazing upon thee long, O beauteous thing, my senses sway,
For mortal glance no licence hath to gaze on light of day.' ¹

Ludwig adored Maria Florenzi, called her Mariannina, his 'Madonnina'. The young woman to whom a Crown Prince was paying such ardent court could not deny herself the enchantment of this experience, although admittedly the appeal was to her vanity rather than to her heart. Moved by his homage, she

¹ Poems of King Ludwig I, I, 200, *Distichen an die Geliebte*.



CROWN PRINCE LUDWIG IN THE OSTERIA RIPAGRANDE IN ROME.
A painting by F. L. Catel.

responded to his advances. Ludwig was in the seventh heaven of delight:

'Oh blissful days in Rome! For me life's blossoming;
Loving and loved I am—the happiest of men.'¹

The Crown Prince almost forgot his wife and family and had written home far less frequently of late. Then he received the news that on the 12th of March his wife had given birth to a third son, Luitpold. He was so happy that he literally jumped for joy, and told every one his good news. 'Wonderful beloved woman,' he wrote to his wife, 'now united to me afresh by a strong bond. Such joy, three sons! I the father of three sons!'²

The march of events had not halted during this time. Metternich had won his way with the Great Powers and force was to be employed against States which, like Naples, were attempting to overthrow their lawful rulers, or even to change the form of government. An Austrian army was on its way to Naples to set aside the constitution which the rebels had forced on the King. Early in March, Ludwig saw Austrian troops encamped close to St. Peter's. He hurried to the camp, although he deplored the purpose for which the troops were to be used, despite the fact that revolution was in opposition to all his principles and inclinations.³ 'Peace, peace,' he cried, and rejoiced that Bavaria had already a constitution, and that the people would not have to obtain one by force: 'Anticipation means that bloodshed is avoided—voluntarily to grant what is reasonable prevents what is excessive being wrung from us.'⁴

The Crown Prince would have returned home sooner had not that powerful magnet, the charming Marchesa, held him back. Mariannina had begged him to ask Cardinal Consalvi to receive her husband and to grant his request. Ludwig complied, and was heartily thanked by the Marchesa: 'I venture to assure Your Royal Highness, that no person will ever fill my heart and mind as completely as you have done. I hope that you will grant me the honour of allowing me to write to you when you are far away. . . . Will you have the kindness to tell me how I should write, and where I may send my letters.' The hopes of her husband's appointment, however, were not fulfilled. The Florenzi family

¹ Gerstenäcker, *Ludwig I.*, p. 26.

² Ludwig to Therese, Rome, 20th March, 1821. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Rome, 16th January, 1821. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Rome, 1st February, 1821. Munich H.A.

was not in good odour in Rome on account of its rather lukewarm religious zeal and its opposition to papal rule. Mariannina begged the Crown Prince to urge Consalvi to give her husband some other post, and Ludwig was so under the spell of this woman that, in spite of the previous refusal, he once more intervened with the Curia. He could not wait for a reply as he had to return home.

On his arrival at Schloss Nymphenburg, near Munich, he heard that Napoleon had died on St. Helena on 5th May. That caused the Bavarian Crown Prince to reflect on the transitory nature of all human greatness but it did not make a deep impression upon him. Napoleon's end had come, as far as Ludwig and the world in general were concerned, on the day the British frigate bore him away as a captive to that distant island.

By this time Austrian troops had entered Naples, had made an end of the 'spectre of revolutionary constitution', and had re-established the old form of government. But the Crown Prince was not converted—he was even more in favour of a constitutional form of government than before. King Max Joseph, whose increasing years made him more susceptible to the fear of revolution and conspiracy which Vienna was continually instilling into him, endeavoured to bring his son round to his way of thinking: 'The world to-day has deteriorated too much for any confidence to be placed in it. Everyone wants to take part in politics and govern, and that cannot be permitted.'¹

Ludwig, however, lived in a world of his own. He was thirty-five, in the best years of a man's life, and he felt a strong urge to work, to be of some account; but he was restricted on all sides. He cherished aspirations after freedom, even in the affairs of the State, unconsciously, it may be, seeking an escape from the fetters of his position as Crown Prince. Always to play second fiddle, to be an onlooker instead of a participant, was unbearable. He had, too, a tendency towards a religio-mystic conception of life which was perhaps due to the influence of Sambuga and of Bishop Sailer, who himself was persecuted by the Church for that very reason. Although the Crown Prince intervened on his behalf, Sailer was not appointed to the See of Augsburg. The rejection of this man on whose behalf Ludwig had made strong representations because he regarded him as the ideal of a Roman Catholic priest, embittered the Prince beyond measure. But Ludwig was not one

¹ King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Tegernsee, 29th May, 1821. Munich H.A.

to give up anything because he had failed the first time. He was to have plenty of opportunity to prove his tenacity and perseverance in all matters he considered right and proper, but for the moment there was little to be done except to tell the Nuncio at a Court ball what he thought about the matter.¹

The more the Crown Prince took part in public and political life, the more his deafness troubled him. On various occasions, confidential conversations carried on too loudly were overheard and repeated in a distorted form. His tactful adjutant, Count Pappenheim, entreated Ludwig to be more careful. Under the circumstances this meant almost complete silence, which was an impossibility for the Crown Prince with his passionate 'stormy outbursts reflecting his opinions of the moment'.

At this point it seemed as if Heaven itself wished to send him help in his grievous trouble. At first only rumours came to Ludwig's ears, but soon the reports were confirmed that a miracle worker had appeared in Bavaria, a priest, a scion of a princely family, Prince Alexander of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst. He was twenty-seven years of age, the eighteenth child of a happy marriage, and had been destined for the priesthood from his earliest youth. Hohenlohe declared that God had set him aside for special work, and soon it was said by Catholics and Protestants alike that the Prince could cast out devils.²

Whilst he was ecclesiastical councillor at Bamberg he became acquainted with Martin Michel, a countryman from Baden who—so it was believed by all the peasants near his home—could heal believers of their sufferings merely with a prayer and by the laying on of hands. Although the ecclesiastical and secular authorities prohibited the 'miracles', Hohenlohe was convinced of the supernatural powers of this man and soon he, too, felt capable of helping in this healing mission. He remembered a young semi-paralysed Princess von Schwarzenberg who had undergone the most painful treatments and tortures at the hands of the doctors without recovering the use of her limbs. Hohenlohe decided that he and Michel together would make an attempt to heal the Princess with the help of prayer. The poor, deeply religious girl with eager hope received Hohenlohe's message that God, through his son Jesus Christ, could help her. The two men

¹ Hubert Schiel, *Bischof Sailer und Ludwig I. von Bayern*, Regensburg, 1932, p. 36.

² L. Sebastian, *Fürst Alexander von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, 1794–1849 und seine Gebetsheilungen*. Kempten and Munich, 1918, p. 16.

came to her bedside and urged her to have firm and unbounded confidence. Then they folded their hands and prayed. Suddenly Michel cried: 'In the name of Jesus, stand up, believe in God, trust in Jesus, love God and you will be healed.'¹

'Yes, Jesus, Jesus,' cried the Princess, ardent with hope and longing for healing.

Scarcely had the two men left the room than the girl impetuously demanded to be loosed from her strappings. They dressed her and with boundless confidence she straightened her muscles, summoned all her strength and succeeded, even if slowly and with support, in walking up and down the room several times. She even managed to go down some steps into the garden, although rather unsteadily and hesitatingly. Immediately the whole house was in an uproar. A miracle, a miracle! Like a flash the news spread through Würzburg. Hundreds streamed into the town and everywhere the matter was discussed. In vain the doctor in charge of the case explained that it was the result of his long years of treatment: 'I did not encourage the Princess to attempt to walk as I did not wish to risk failure by premature action. She was still far too weak and unsteady for it.' But no one listened to him, nor did any speak of the peasant. All attention was focussed on the princely cleric who now decided to carry on the healing work alone. From all sides the sick and decrepit came to him. Many suffers from arthritis, who imagined that they were hardly able to walk, found relief, and through their pæons of praise increased the fame of the miracle worker throughout the country. Amongst so many cures it was not noticed that the completely blind and deaf were not healed. An unsatisfactory result was ascribed to lack of faith, although Hohenlohe had told even these people: 'Go now, help has been given you.'

Human beings, in their despair, turn only too easily to belief in the supernatural; and certainly Hohenlohe himself believed in his powers. This alone gave him strength to face the undeniable failures and to endure the attacks which followed from all sides, even from official and ecclesiastical quarters. The Crown Prince, of course, heard of these miraculous events. His religio-mystic leanings conjured up visions of the early Christian times: 'It is as though one were living in the days of the Apostles,' he wrote enthusiastically to his sister. Then he sent for the miracle worker, asking him to come immediately to 'one who believes stedfastly

¹ Sebastian, p. 44.

in Jesus Christ', and to cure him of his deafness. Prince Hohenlohe hurried to him.

Ludwig was staying in a charming house at Bad Brückenau. The sun poured into the cheerful study where he sat expectantly preparing himself for the great moment. When Hohenlohe crossed the threshold, tears of excitement came into the Crown Prince's eyes and he knelt down. The priest laid his hands on him, praying softly, whilst Ludwig, deeply affected, awaited he knew not what. Then Hohenlohe, equally affected, rose, stepped back to the farthest end of the large apartment and said gently: 'God has helped us.' Ludwig had made a great effort to listen, or perhaps he might not have heard the words, but in intense excitement, under the influence of the great moment, he distinctly heard the words of the priest spoken at that distance. Overjoyed and delighted at the supposed miracle, both Ludwig and Hohenlohe fell on their knees and thanked God.

Therese was hurriedly sent for and she too admitted, even if hesitatingly, that his hearing had improved. She could not bring herself to spoil her husband's joy by expressing doubts, particularly as he had proclaimed the news prematurely to the world. Ludwig made no objection when Hohenlohe immediately attempted fresh miracles in the Crown Prince's ante-room and when the great *Kaisersaal* was suddenly filled with people who needed help. In his joy, the Crown Prince also wrote to his great friend, Karl von Seinsheim¹: 'Miracles still take place . . . the deaf hear, the blind see and the lame walk—not by laying on of hands, but by means of a short prayer in the name of Jesus and in accordance with His teachings.'

Full of enthusiasm, Ludwig gave Seinsheim permission to show the letter to anyone he liked, even to have it copied. This was done, and immediately the newspapers seized upon it. The Crown Prince's name was henceforth inseparable from that of the miracle-worker. Then the authorities began to intervene. Hohenlohe was called upon to work miracles in the presence of experts. On 28th July eighteen sick persons were brought to him, in the presence of the doctors, at the Julius Hospital in Würzburg, and in every case he failed to effect a cure.² Hohenlohe ascribed this to lack of faith and the people continued to throng around him as

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to *Graf* Karl von Seinsheim, Brückenau, 3rd (not 5th) July, 1821. Sepp, p. 691.

² Sebastian, p. 48.

before. The moment Ludwig was seen the people crowded round him, kissed his hands, and touched his clothes. A Frankfurt newspaper wrote: 'A great number of the aristocracy regard it as a particular favour that it should be a Prince who has been called upon to revive the declining belief in God's omnipotence and through his mercy to work miracles . . . and yet, in the mind of every educated, unbiased Christian who has the good of religion and mankind at heart, doubts must arise which all the genealogical trees in the world could not dispel.'

Further attempted cures in the presence of officials on 3rd and 4th July were complete failures, yet reports of miracles continued. On 12th July Hohenlohe again went to Brückenau. 'The very next day many sick persons appeared . . .' wrote the Crown Prince, describing the scenes to the Empress of Austria.¹ When he gave them the blessing all together, in the open, I also knelt down . . . and my own hearing improved again. Therese noticed it. Last Sunday the crowds were enormous, nearly two thousand people must have been assembled in the avenues. . . .'

Some of the paralysed and lame who could not get near to Hohenlohe, although they had driven many miles to see him, begged the Crown Prince to help them to obtain access, and the Prince came after the evening meal to attempt their cure. One lame woman threw away her crutches, crying: 'I was a great sinner, but now I shall be different,' and walked up and down without trouble. That made a great impression upon the Crown Prince, who made no effort to find out whether the great sinner had ever been lame. After 15th July, the Prince was only permitted to attempt his cures between the hours of ten to twelve in a church at Brückenau. At these times crowds were so large as to be dangerous, and the Crown Prince, who always attended, had part of his coat torn from him.

The Austrian Minister in Munich watched all these events with a cool, critical eye.² He said, with full justification, that the attitude of the Crown Prince lent considerable importance to the whole affair. It was with particular uneasiness that the King watched this veritable avalanche of supernatural happenings into which his son was being drawn. He decided to put an end to this sorcery as soon as possible, for the dignity both of religion and of his son—in fact law and order in the State seemed to him

¹ Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Bad Brückenau, 17th July, 1821. Munich H.A.

² Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 12th July, 1821. Vienna St.A.

in danger. Hohenlohe was ordered to leave the Crown Prince's residence at Brückenau and return to Bamberg, there to occupy himself with his regular duties. Further attempts at healing were only to be undertaken in the presence of a Commission. The priest hurried to the Crown Prince and told him. Ludwig was highly indignant: 'Do not obey the order. I will be responsible for the consequences.' He sent for the official who had signed the order, and after an intolerable scene it was withdrawn.

At this time the Crown Princess fell seriously ill. After several days she was considered to be out of danger, but nevertheless the Princess felt that her end was near and asked for the Sacrament to be administered by a pastor of her faith. Ludwig, however, hoped that at this time his wife would allow herself to be converted to Catholicism. He spoke to her so much of Hohenlohe that in the end she asked to see him. He came and prayed by her bedside whilst the ladies in waiting and the Crown Prince knelt beside him. Therese declared that her suffering had been relieved by these prayers. As, shortly after this, she recovered completely, Ludwig was more than ever convinced that it was due to Hohenlohe and not to the doctors, and spoke with enthusiasm of God's great mercy to him and to his wife.

The Vicar-General in Bamberg then insisted that Hohenlohe should obey the order to return. The Crown Prince replied for the priest that the latter's presence was still of great importance and he could not be spared. Whilst Ludwig still believed in the miracles, the opinion was gaining ground that Hohenlohe's cures were only successful in the case of nervous complaints, where increased power of imagination and mental persuasion could have a beneficial effect.

In time warnings also reached the Crown Prince, and he learned that his father was declaring emphatically at every opportunity that he had faith neither in the peasant nor in Prince Hohenlohe.¹ The King complained that the Crown Prince should have played such a prominent part in a very delicate affair and maintained that his improved hearing was due, in great part, to imagination: '*Ach Gott!* the whole business, and particularly my son's attitude, has added ten years to my life'.²

It was imperative that some action be taken to prevent discredit

¹ Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Bad Brückenau, 9th August, 1821. Munich H.A.

² Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 31st August, 1821. Vienna St.A.

falling on the Government and the ecclesiastical authorities, for Hohenlohe, supported by the Crown Prince, had hitherto successfully defied them. Finally, Hohenlohe was advised to give up his work or the consequences would be serious. He was free to go to Austria if he liked. The Prince capitulated. On 14th October, Hohenlohe sent a notice to the papers asking people not to visit him, for 'his duties and his health prevented his accepting any more cases for healing'.¹ Gradually disillusionment came to Ludwig. On all sides he heard that many astonishing cures were not permanent and old troubles had returned. But he was loth to admit it even to himself, and his particular friends believed they still pleased him when they assured him that his hearing was better. But he had to admit that opinions differed on this point. From the very start his father had found no marked difference.

The whole affair did Ludwig a great deal of harm. His enemies seized the opportunity of disparaging him. The French Minister was one of the first: 'The Crown Prince of Bavaria hears no better than he did before,' he reported.² 'He was deceived by his powers of imagination and the desire to be healed. Those who are more discerning and think of the future are troubled by this fresh example of weakness and inclination to eccentricity in a Prince who will one day ascend the throne of Bavaria.'

Whilst these events were claiming attention in the country, the revolutionary flame, beaten down in Naples, had flared up in Greece and its islands. For centuries these people had groaned under the Turkish yoke. But since a mighty vassal of the Porte, Ali Pasha of Janina, had revolted, they considered the time had come to free themselves. In March, 1821, the peninsula of Morea, the Peloponnesus of antiquity, took up arms, and the people of Roumelia and Thessaly rose in the north. The Turks attempted to put down the rebellion with the utmost cruelty. The Head of the Greek Church in Constantinople was hanged on the door of his church. Wherever the oppressors prevailed, as on the island of Chios, thousands of Greeks were murdered or exiled, and town and country were laid waste. The brave champions of freedom, however, did not give in and they gained some important victories

¹ Sebastian, pp. 80 and 94. Hohenlohe disappeared from the scene after this. In August, 1824, he was made a Canon of Grosswardein (his mother's home) and became a Bishop after the death of the Emperor Francis. This Emperor is supposed to have said: "If he can work miracles let him make himself a Bishop. I will never make him one."

² The Minister de Coulombe to Baron de Pasquier, Munich, 17th September, 1821. Chroust, I, 159.

over their oppressors. The whole of Europe watched the struggle with growing excitement. Numerous Philhellene associations were formed which showed their sympathy for the Greek cause in word and deed. Metternich had, by this time, forced both his own Emperor and the devoutly religious Czar of Russia into a world of his own creating, so that they regarded even this revolt of a Christian nation against its Mohammedan rulers as a breach of 'sacred lawful order'. The Greeks therefore received no support from the European Governments, but all who held liberal opinions were full of enthusiasm. An association was formed in Munich at the head of which was the outstanding philologist and pedagogue, Thiersch. In vain Metternich stormed at their arguments, stating that there was no longer such a thing as a Greek race—those living in Greece were merely a mixture of Slavs, Albanians, and other elements.

For Ludwig these men were the descendants of those heroes of the past who once in the 'Home of all that was beautiful', had brought human culture to its greatest perfection. In numerous poems in the spring of 1821 he exhorted the rebels:

'Awake, ye Greeks! Your ancient courage take,
Ye Sons of Sparta. Then the Persian fled
Before you—Now the Turkish yoke shall break.'

Neither did he confine himself to words, but sent money and gifts of every kind to the men fighting for their freedom.

In spite of all that had happened since he left Rome, Ludwig could not banish the memory of his charming Marchesa; at the beginning of November he heard that she had given birth to a son to whom her husband proposed to give the name of Lodovico, and the Crown Prince was asked to be godfather.¹ Despite the Crown Prince's efforts, the Marchese had not succeeded in obtaining a post; it was known in Rome why the Crown Prince was so concerned about this family, people were annoyed about it, and his requests fell on deaf ears. But Mariannina, encouraged by the devotion expressed in his letters and his promise to send a picture of himself, continued to implore the Crown Prince's help. The greater the opposition in Rome, the more determined and insistent were Ludwig's requests to the Cardinal's secretary.

By the spring Ludwig's perseverance had secured Sailer's nomination as Bishop, and the complete vindication of Sailer's

¹ Marchese Ettore Florenzi to Crown Prince Ludwig, Perugia, 31st October, 1821. Munich H.A.

honour in the face of all opposition was a great victory for the Crown Prince. Religion, the Crown Prince assured his son Max before his First Communion, was 'the greatest and most excellent thing'.

Ludwig was much occupied throughout this time with the construction of the Glyptothek and with plans for an immense frieze in Valhalla, the Temple of Honour, which at his wish was being built and decorated exclusively by German artists. He endeavoured to secure Cornelius, then Director of the Academy at Düsseldorf, for Munich, and to induce him to enter Bavarian service. 'We could not get another man like him.'¹ And as Cornelius intended taking up portrait painting, Ludwig decided to entrust him with the work of 'painting the most beautiful of the fair sex in Munich', and in this way to found a Gallery of Fair Women. As one of the most enchanting in that gallery would shine the Marchesa who so attracted him.

In the autumn of 1822 the Sovereigns of the Holy Alliance were to meet in Verona, and Ludwig feared that they would decide to take measures against those countries which had introduced a Constitution.

As soon as the Crown Prince began to take an active part in politics, he became aware of the limitations imposed upon him, and his indefatigable spirit sought refuge in poetry. He collected his poems with the idea of having them published at some future date. Reading these effusions after the lapse of years, he recognized that, written as they were under the influence of passing moods, they were often greatly exaggerated. Ludwig admitted that he often made the mistake of generalizing too thoughtlessly. He recalled with embarrassment his passionate poems against the Austrian Chancellor: 'I realize that I exaggerated with regard to Prince Metternich and that my statements were not always correct.'²

During his forced inaction, the Crown Prince considered what measures he would introduce as soon as he came to the Throne. First would come a considerable change of personnel. The Crown Prince observed with anxiety that both State and the Court were being run too extravagantly and that the finances were in great confusion. He determined that once he was King

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Ringseis, Bad Brückenau, 2nd August, 1822. Munich H.A.

² To the Reader, Würzburg, 5th and 6th December, 1822. Draft in Munich H.A.



THE ARCHITECTS OF LUDWIG I.



LUDWIG I SURROUNDED BY ARTISTS AND MEN OF LEARNING.



THE ARTISTS OF LUDWIG I.

[Facing page 178.]

he would look into everything, even the most trifling matters, until the spirit of economy had taken firm root in all State officials. The world, meanwhile, was carefully watching the man who would one day be King of Bavaria. Feuds grew up amongst the artists in his entourage. Cornelius, who painted the frescoes in the Glyptothek during his summer holiday, made use of Ringseis to attack Klenze, the architect. The doctor showed Ludwig a confidential letter written by the painter about the architect. 'Cornelius is mistaken if he thinks that Klenze can do as he likes with me: it is only natural that I should entrust architectural matters to an architect rather than to a painter; besides I am not blind to anyone's faults, not even to my own.'

Ludwig had already three sons and two daughters. He was, at this time, in a much quieter and happier mood, which was reflected in the improved relations with his father, and was partly due to the fact that time had often proved Max Joseph to be right. Only in Vienna was there still great distrust of the Heir to the Throne. Metternich regarded the Constitutional State of Bavaria, and Munich in particular, as the rallying point of Jacobinism in Germany.

If Ludwig had once conceived an affection for a person, he never wavered. This was particularly evident in his treatment of his former governess, *Hofrätin* von Weyland; as the 'little old foster-mother' herself said, he showed her 'unbounded care, attention and graciousness'. He often visited her at Mannheim and told her of his life at Würzburg, of his family and the charming actress Helene L. at the theatre there, who had caught his fancy and whose appearance 'inspired and enchanted' him. Playfully the old lady shook her finger at him. But Ludwig could not withstand the witchery of this girl. He composed long poems about her, containing good resolutions and advice.

'Our life is but a wand'ring here,
Each human frame a pilgrim's dress.
Approach, my soul, to Heaven near,
Above Earth's paths and sensuousness.' ¹

Ludwig endeavoured to place her at the Court Theatre at Munich, but the Manager made an excuse that there was no vacancy. Once more it was brought home to him that he was only the Crown Prince. But however beautiful he found Helene, Ludwig could not free himself from the memory of the charming little

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Helene L. Würzburg, May, 1823. Munich H.A.

Italian who wrote to him frequently, but unfortunately harped too much on her husband's expectations of a post. Notwithstanding all this, Ludwig was on the best of terms with his own wife; Therese was loving and kind, and even seemed to understand his infatuation for other women. He was deeply touched on one occasion when, making him a present of a watch, she said: 'May it always point to happiness for you.' But the feeling of being tied—pledged to love as a duty—was at times almost unbearable. He wanted to get away, to see new faces, find new delights, go alone to distant lands. At the beginning of October, Ludwig fell ill with jaundice and this decided him to seek recovery in southern climes. Under the name of Count von Wittelsbach he travelled through Florence and Perugia to Rome, where he soon met the Marchesa Mariannina. Directly he caught sight of her he was captivated afresh and exclaimed in the fullness of his heart: 'I love you madly and passionately.'

Ludwig's companions, Ringseis and Seinsheim, were troubled at the deep impression this woman made on the Crown Prince. He was a different person, and as happy as a child. His two companions shook their heads at the unbounded capacity for enthusiasm shown by their royal master. He was overjoyed to receive a letter from Mariannina of the 4th of November which was the first of a long series:

'It seems to me I see you still before me and hear you say you love me. And I? For me, it is the first and only time that I have loved. I have no experience in passion. . . . The letters will be forwarded by an intermediary; everything will be all right and I need have no fear.'

Some days later letter number two arrived.¹ 'Thank you for your very sweet letter. I will go to Rome for a week towards the end of Carnival when you return from Palermo. . . . Every day I feel more and more the wonder of love, and repeat that my present passion will be the only one in my life. Farewell! Let me live in your heart as you live in mine. Your Mariannina.' These letters increased Ludwig's joy at being back in the Eternal City. 'Rome has a wonderful effect on my health and on my whole being,' he wrote to his sister Karoline Auguste, wisely refraining from mentioning Mariannina.² 'If you could hear your

¹ Marchesa Florenzi to Crown Prince Ludwig, Perugia, 6th November, 1823. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Rome, 23rd November, 1823. Munich H.A.

brother Ludwig whistling and singing in his room, you would think he was seventeen instead of thirty-seven and the father of a family.'

Enchanted by the loving letters he received from Perugia, the Crown Prince asked the Marchesa to use the familiar 'thou' to him. She needed no second bidding: '*Ti amo con trasporto e con inclinazione. . . . Spero che tu mi amerai sempre, come lo farò io,*' came back her answer.¹

Ludwig's happiness was increased by the news that his step-sister Elise had been married to the Heir to the Prussian Throne on 16th November. This marriage had been one of his dearest wishes. Friedrich Wilhelm wrote to him²: 'With inexpressible delight, my dearest Crown Prince, I now call you dear brother-in-law.'

Everything seemed to be going well. Although Ludwig enjoyed being in Rome, he also wanted to go to Sicily and arrangements had been made for the journey. At the beginning of December, therefore, he left for Naples on his way to Palermo, that lovely clime where the golden oranges hung on the trees and myrtle was in full bloom at Christmas time. Full of admiration, Ludwig stood in the magnificent cathedral of Palermo with its porphyry sarcophagus containing the remains of the Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: 'How utterly desirable,' he cried,³ 'to continue to live on earth as Frederick lives in the grateful memory of the Sicilians.'

On New Year's Eve of 1823 a magnificent ball was given in honour of the Crown Prince who, however, longed to be back in Rome. Ardent letters came from Perugia: 'A day is like a year to me—like a whole century,' Mariannina wrote.⁴ 'But I think it will be very difficult to be alone the first time we meet again.'

Letter upon letter from her arrived at Palermo, and Ludwig could not hide from his friends his delight and his impatience to be back in Rome. Ringseis grew anxious; his conscience troubled him, for he felt it his duty, in his confidential position, to warn Ludwig of the consequences of 'his relations with the other sex', and to tell him what a great many excellent people

¹ Marchesa Florenzi to Crown Prince Ludwig, Perugia, 12th and 18th November, 1823. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia to Crown Prince Ludwig, Berlin, 2nd November, 1823. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig to Therese, Palermo, 28th December, 1823. Munich H.A.

⁴ Marchesa Florenzi to Crown Prince Ludwig, Perugia, 27th November and 7th December, 1823. Letters Nos. 8 and 11. Munich H.A.

in Bavaria and in Germany thought of the matter. The doctor finally decided to write to Ludwig and put the matter to him straightforwardly and clearly¹: 'I consider your present relations with the Marchesa Florenzi, even if they be platonic, are ill-advised and prejudicial not only to you, beloved and gracious Sire, but also to the Marchesa, her husband and many others. . . . You do not appear to regard them in this light.' He appealed to the Crown Prince in the interests of the Marchesa's reputation and of his own standing amongst the Catholics: 'How many people, Sire, hold that your religion is hypocrisy or superstition—at very least that your actions are inconsistent. They cannot believe that anyone who is really religious could offend against religion on such an important point . . . you are robbing yourself of the support of a large number of the finest of your people.'

The Crown Prince, however, took exception to this well-meant warning. What right had the doctor to interfere in these matters? Even as a young man he had resented any kind of control, and now someone had dared to take the liberty of remonstrating with him—a man of mature age, and concerning a purely private matter which was not at all what people tried to make out! There was a decided coolness towards Ringseis, who no longer sat at table with the Crown Prince.

Both good and bad news arrived from home. On 16th February the King was to celebrate his Silver Jubilee and Ludwig wrote his father a most affectionate letter. The King thanked Ludwig warmly for his congratulations on the occasion of 'the twenty-five years' reign, or rather slavery'.² Ludwig begged his wife on this occasion to impress upon his eldest son that a Prince can only be beloved if he has first earned love as a human being. The King was sad and depressed, for his son-in-law, Eugène, had died suddenly on 21st February. The death of his brother-in-law, with whom he had not been on good terms, did not affect Ludwig—at any rate he did not let it interrupt his gaieties during the Carnival in Rome. He met the beautiful Marchesa everywhere, and if ever he was invited without her, as, for instance, by Lady Hastings, he had no scruples in asking his hostess to invite the Marchesa and her husband as well.

¹ Ringseis to Crown Prince Ludwig, Palermo, 30th January, 1824. Munich H.A. Also Berthold Lang, S.J., *Dr. Johann Nepomuk von Ringseis 1785-1880*, Freiburg, Munich, 1931.

² King Max Joseph to Crown Prince Ludwig, Munich, 10th March, 1824. Munich H.A.

Towards the end of February a large ball was given by Napoleon's sister, Princess Pauline Borghese. She appeared wonderfully dressed in white with a scarlet tunic, and with jewels in her hair. After some time she disappeared only to return with a still more beautiful pink garment thrown over a white gown. 'The gods of love could have chosen nothing more delightful,' remarked the Crown Prince. At a little distance the Princess looked altogether charming, but in reality her cheeks were hollow, her complexion sallow, and all semblance of beauty had vanished. '*A quoi sert le superflu, quand on manque du nécessaire,*' Ludwig remarked ironically. Whilst masked at this ball he also spoke to Madame Récamier. But what did all these one-time world-famed beauties count in comparison with Mariannina, young, charming, and only twenty-one? Then he compared his wife with all the women he had ever met and said to himself: 'It is a most comforting feeling to have a dependable wife.'

The constant stream of invitations and amusements, as well as the enormous expenses incurred by the Crown Prince on his journeys, prevented him from acquiring any art treasures at this time. This enforced self-denial led him to advise his brother-in-law in Prussia to purchase a Raphael Madonna from the Duca Landa, and he even undertook to bargain for it on his behalf. 'The amount asked is considerable,' he declared, 'but the acquisition of an undoubted Raphael is an unusual piece of luck. One often hesitates to pay out a large sum all at once and thinks nothing of paying as much in smaller sums at various times.'¹

As formerly, Ludwig was often to be found in the studios of various artists and, strange to relate, the Marchesa Florenzi also visited them. She persuaded her husband to invite the Crown Prince to their country home at Colombella, near Perugia; Ludwig accepted with pleasure and now told his wife for the first time² about this couple and their invitation. He wrote saying that he had met the Marchese nine years before, but he made no mention of that gentleman's wife. It was only natural that the Crown Prince's infatuation and his constant intervention on behalf of the family should become the talk of Rome, yet he drove along the Corso quite unconcerned with the Marchesa. His entourage and a well-known Jesuit did not cease their warnings. Ludwig

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, Rome, 7th April, 1824. Brandenburg-Prussian House Archives, Berlin.

² Ludwig to Therese, Rome, 24th April, 1824. Munich H.A.

looked forward to his visit at Colombella. It was the most beautiful season in Rome, flowers were in blossom and the air was sweet with their perfume, but the parting was easy with such a delightful prospect in view. He arrived at Colombella on 4th May. The house was situated on a hill and surrounded by mountainous country. The view was beautiful. There was no village near and the simple country house stood alone. Ludwig made it a condition that his hosts should continue to live their ordinary life just as if he were not there. He described it all in his letters home, but said not a word concerning Mariannina. 'If I do not write to you so often from here as I did in the town,' he explained to his wife, 'do not take it amiss. There is not much to write about in this simple country life and Therese knows that her Ludwig loves her.'¹

The presence of their royal guest and the homage he paid her completely turned the Marchesa's head. She was, however, suffering from a malady and Ludwig at once determined that Ringseis, who was amazed at the 'true Italian frankness'² with which her illness was discussed, should remain behind in his capacity as doctor, whilst Ludwig, after a short visit, returned home. Letters full of protestations of love from the Marchesa followed him. In every other sentence she declared, 'I feel that I love you inexpressibly.'³ Ringseis endeavoured to restore her to health, but it was essential for her to take a cure at some spa. Ludwig made this possible from the financial aspect and received a letter of thanks and love. 'I will always read your writing with joy and kiss it.' The Crown Prince persuaded the Marchesa to learn German and introduced her to German literature. At times, however, he grew anxious as to her husband's attitude. But Mariannina soothed his fears: 'Ettore has not the slightest idea that we correspond regularly. He believes that you write to me occasionally, but he is not interested. He thinks that I love you, but not with that fervour which is really the case and which makes me so happy.'⁴

There were some things, however, which jarred upon Ludwig. In spite of all her protestations of love, Mariannina asked too

¹ Ludwig to Therese, Colombella, 7th May, 1824. Munich H.A.

² Ringseis, II, 170.

³ Marchesa Florenzi to Crown Prince Ludwig, 5th July, 1824. No. 35. Munich H.A.

⁴ Marchesa Florenzi to Crown Prince Ludwig, 3rd March, 1825, No. 85. Munich H.A.



MARIANNINA FLORENZI AS A YOUNG
WOMAN.

Portrait by Reinhardt.

many favours. She had on one occasion asked to be made a lady of 'Sternkreuzorden', although she admitted that her great-grandmother had been bourgeois; but he forgot all this when he received a picture of her and sent her his in return. Then events at home began to claim his attention as, owing to failing health, the King no longer held the reins of government as he had done formerly, and the leading men in the world of art and of technical science began to address their requests to the Crown Prince for his intervention. In the autumn of 1824 he had succeeded in securing Cornelius as Director of the Academy of Arts in Munich.

The ties with Austria had in the meantime been strengthened. Ludwig's stepsister, Princess Sophie, had married Archduke Karl Franz in November, 1824. After Ferdinand, the Emperor's son, this Prince was next heir to the throne, and it was very doubtful whether Ferdinand, owing to his mental state, even came into the question as heir. It did not look as if Karoline Auguste were going to have any children, but this latest marriage made it possible that a child of Ludwig's sister would one day ascend the throne of Austria.

Although the Crown Prince had been away for a long time, one of the chief reasons for this absence being his disapproval of many of the Government's actions, he still found it very difficult to refrain from interfering. Several loyal friends had kept him informed of all events which had taken place. Chief of these friends was Heinrich *Freiherr* von der Tann, who, with Count Karl Seinsheim, was one of his old Göttingen University friends.¹ Tann had been accustomed to send the Crown Prince a satirical and witty, but very apt kind of chronicle of all Government and society news. His expressions, which were coarse at times, pleased the Crown Prince because indicative of the candour and plain sincerity of a man who wanted nothing for himself and only wished to keep his royal master fully and faithfully informed. Von der Tann listened everywhere, interested himself in everything, and called himself '*homme de milles affaires*'. He had, for example, drawn up an original 'Rogues List', on which were entered all those who, in his opinion, worked only for themselves and their own interests and not for the Royal House or their country. His character accorded well with that of the Crown

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Heinrich von der Tann, Munich, 15th March, 1825. Archives of the Tann family.

Prince, and the tie between the two men became ever closer and finally led to a degree of friendship which is unusual between a prince and his subject. As a sign of particular favour, Ludwig sent him a picture of himself with the words: ' . . . I like your frank speech; how rare! And how seldom does it come from a really loyal heart! Let Tann always speak so, to the best of his knowledge and conscience, to his devoted Ludwig Crown Prince.'¹

This loyal friend also gave Ludwig personal details about Goethe, now aged seventy-six, whose writings the Crown Prince read with great attention and discussed frequently with his sister Karoline Auguste. He felt he would like to come into closer contact with this writer and give him some personal token of his interest. He therefore wrote and asked in what way he could do this.

In Vienna there was still great anxiety concerning Ludwig's liberal views. To reassure the statesmen there, the Crown Prince wrote to the Empress: 'Your brother belongs neither to the ultra-aristocrats nor the ultra-liberals; that is, in itself, a good thing and most useful, as more can thus be achieved.'²

The Crown Prince planned another journey for the autumn. Mariannina, in her one hundred and twenty-fourth letter, had written: 'When I think of your presence at Colombella, it seems to give me a foretaste of Paradise. I shall be there shortly. What joy, what a happy moment!'³

Ludwig had written to Mariannina of his approaching journey when his plans were frustrated. The 12th of October was the day of the King's patron saint. Max Joseph looked very well, and appeared to enjoy excellent health, but complained occasionally of feeling his age. All the morning the seventy-year-old King stood to receive in audience those who brought him their congratulations, amongst them the Austrian Minister, Count Trauttmansdorff. 'I am getting old,' Max Joseph said to him. 'Yes, I have lived a long time and through a great deal, *on ne peut pas être et avoir été*.'⁴ That evening the King had to attend a ball at which the Royal Family was present. The great heat and the exertions of the day induced the King to beg his family

¹ Crown Prince Ludwig to Heinrich von der Tann, Würzburg, 9th September, 1824. Archives of the Tann family.

² Ludwig to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 7th August, 1825. Munich H.A.

³ Marchesa Florenzi to Crown Prince Ludwig, 19th August, 1825. Munich H.A.

⁴ Graf Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 13th October, 1825. Vienna St.A.

to remain whilst he returned to the Palace. He said no word of not feeling well, only that he was fatigued and wished to go to bed. There was no one in his bedroom but his three dogs.

The following morning, at six o'clock, the valet entered the room of his royal master, as was his custom. Surprised that the usual question regarding the weather remained unspoken, he approached the bed and saw to his alarm that, although the King was lying in his accustomed position, his face was deadly pale. The man called to the King, louder and again louder, but the latter never moved. In the greatest agitation the man ran for the doctor. Both he and Prince Karl hurried to the room, but there was nothing to be done. The doctor could only determine that Max Joseph had died of a stroke. The body was already quite cold, and it was evident that the King must have been dead whilst his family, all unconscious, were amusing themselves at the ball. The Colonel of the Guards immediately left for Brückenau to take the sad news to the Crown Prince. Horror-struck, Ludwig heard the words: 'Most humbly I have to inform Your Majesty that His Majesty the late King, your father, has passed away.'

The new King was overwhelmed by the tremendous change in his life. At first he did not wish to go to Munich, fearing all that awaited him there. He only arrived at the capital on the 18th October, filled with anxiety as to the future. 'Never did any man ascend the throne with greater aversion than I,' he wrote to the Empress of Austria,¹ 'even if it had not been my father whom I succeeded, a father whose goodness of heart was unequalled. Continue to pray for me. I will go to work quietly. . . . Sister! Sister! I have one comfort which will never be taken from me and that is that I was never on such good terms with my father as latterly. How affectionately he spoke of me during those last few days!'

In sad remembrance of the deceased, the new King, with tears in his eyes, decreed that the silver urn in which, according to old custom, his father's heart was placed, to be preserved in Altötting, should be inscribed with the words: 'The best heart.'

¹ Ludwig I to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 19th October, 1825. Munich H.A.

CHAPTER VII

THE KING

1825-1830

Ludwig was now King. At the age of thirty-nine he was at last to be given an opportunity of putting into practice the theories he had evolved concerning the task of ruler. At last he was in a position to set right all the mistakes and omissions of which he had been for so long a silent but critical witness.

As Crown Prince, Ludwig had accustomed himself to rise at half-past four every morning, and he did not propose to change this habit. 'When I look out on the *Max-Joseph-Platz* every morning my light is the first,' he remarked to Count Poggi; 'then gradually, one by one, lights begin to appear in the other houses.'¹

This was indeed necessary, for King Ludwig would have preferred to do everything himself. Now he would be able to give rein to his insatiable longing for beauty, his love of building and collecting, and with a mere word make men happy.

'Happiest in bringing gladness
Canst thou now and always be.
In thy power to banish sadness
Lieth happiness for thee.'²

Thus wrote the Monarch in the first poem which he composed after his accession. But the thought of Court etiquette which he would have to observe—to be 'dead even in life, always set apart'—oppressed him:

'Let all be weighed and criticized,
The meaning of each word apprized,
Forget the King's a man.
Shall his heart beat with quickening sense
In solitary eminence? . . .'³

This was particularly hard for Ludwig, who was active, full of life and more impressionable than most men. He wished to

¹ Heigel, *Quellen und Abhandlungen*, new series, Munich, 1890. *Ludwig I. v. Bayern als Erzieher seines Volkes, Festrede zur Zentenarfeier* 29. Juli 1888, p. 413.

² *An mich als Koenig* (To myself as King), 5th November, 1825. *Gedichte* II, 56.

³ *Der Könige Los* (The Destiny of Kings), *Gedichte*, II, 58.

mingle with men as one of them, and now, would this no longer be possible to him as King—to him who considered that the greatest thing in life was the attraction of one human being for another? 'Love is the greatest—not the Throne.'¹

Ludwig was particularly sensitive to expressions of affection from sincere friends. *Freiherr* von der Tann, who never used flattery, wrote to him: 'Your accession to the Throne is an event of great importance for the present generation and for posterity: doubly so because in Your Majesty we admire a devout man, one with a love of truth and justice, who at the same time is careful and rich in knowledge. . . .'

Such letters awoke a momentary fear in Ludwig lest he could not fulfil the expectations he had awakened: 'Ah, my dear Baron,' he wrote to Tann, 'I ascend the Throne with the greatest sadness. How happy I would be if we were students again together! Continue, Tann, to give me your opinion frankly. A King needs to hear the truth, and has to listen to so many lies.'²

The sadness was soon dispelled by the prospect of the enlarged sphere of action which was now his. The King fully realized the significance of the task before him of making a people happy. The words of the oath which he had sworn in the presence of his nobles had made a deep impression upon him. 'I swear to rule according to the Constitution and the laws of the kingdom, so help me God and His Holy Word.'

Whilst there were many who set the greatest hopes on the new, liberal-minded King, there were others who feared these very qualities. The Governments of Europe, like the people of Bavaria, were divided into those with conservative and romantic-religious leanings and those who were dissatisfied and cherished liberal and national aspirations. The most retrograde government, that of Austria and Metternich, was filled with anxiety concerning the new broom which was about to sweep in Bavaria. The Imperial Minister in Munich reported that it appeared to be the King's intention to act on his own initiative and to evince great activity.³ In view of the King's opinions this might bring about a pretty state of affairs. Ludwig heard of these fears and said to Count Pappenheim: 'I am sending you to Vienna so that you can tell

¹ *Der überzeugte Liebende, Gedichte*, II, 87.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 17th October, 1825. Archives of the Tann family.

³ Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, 24th October, 1825. Vienna St.A.

the Emperor and Prince Metternich they need not believe that I shall govern according to Jacobin principles.¹

After a few days Ludwig was quite at home in his rôle of King. 'I am already accustomed to my new life, and am entirely occupied with State affairs; there is more than enough to do, and I feel possessed of a strength I never suspected.'² The first important Government measures were taken in hand immediately and their keynote was 'liberal'.

The King wished the same spirit of economy to rule in his household as in the State, and even carried the matter to extremes. In Munich gossip had it that the clothes of the late King had not been given to the servants as was customary, but sold by auction. The King's remark: 'I need no barber—I shave myself,' was heard with astonishment, and was shortly followed by the news that a valet who had grown rich in the service of the late King had been dismissed, as the new Monarch preferred to dress himself. The Court flunkeys shuddered when they heard that the King's physician was to ride in an ordinary carriage and not in one of the Court carriages, that no door was allowed to be painted without the royal permission, and that persons employed in the Court cellars were not permitted to deal in wine.³ The high officials soon perceived that in spite of the Monarch's liberal views and love of a Constitution it was no longer they but the King who made decisions.

During the discussions of the State Commission on Economies in the Army, Ludwig I remarked: 'What is old and good shall remain, what is old and indifferent may possibly remain, but what is old and bad I will root out, even if it has existed for a hundred years.' But what would the King consider bad?⁴

Count Trauttmansdorff, the Austrian Minister, watched all these changes with growing anxiety⁵: 'It would be best,' he declared, 'to wait until the ship runs aground. That is bound to happen.' Trauttmansdorff indicated his misgivings to Ludwig I, who answered: 'There need be no anxiety in Austria. Formerly, when a Minister was removed there was every likelihood of a change of policy, but this is not the case now for the Ministers

¹ Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 22nd October, 1825. Vienna St.A.

² Ludwig to Therese, Munich, 23rd October, 1825, Munich H.A.

³ Hans Reidelbach, *König Ludwig I. v. Bayern und seine Kunstschöpfungen*, Munich, 1888, p. 103.

⁴ Report from Colonel Graf von Clam-Martinic to Metternich, Vienna, 26th November, 1825. Vienna St.A.

⁵ Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 31st October, 1825. Vienna St.A.

have to do as I order them.'¹ Ludwig reminded the Count that he had once dared to express his preference for Austria at a time when such sentiments were anything but popular.

It was often overlooked that the King's progressive views ran parallel to certain religious opinions which would do much to check any too extreme projects. But the world was not to know this yet. For the moment it saw only the precipitate measures of the young King. He did everything impatiently; he could not await the execution of his ideas, and whatever opposed him was trampled down. On one occasion when signing a document, which he was most anxious should be dealt with immediately, he wrote on it: 'At once, without delay, to-day, instantly, promptly, lose no time, immediately.'² Every kind of obstacle was put in the way of the Commission for Effecting Economies, but Ludwig swept them ruthlessly aside: 'What is to be done must be done quickly, otherwise things will remain as they were and everyone, including myself, will go to sleep over it.'³ The King had an unusual method of expressing himself. It was short and concise, sometimes ironical, and at times even hurtful. But everywhere he showed an independent judgment, expressed in an original way.⁴

About this time the King received a letter of congratulation from the Austrian historian, *Freiherr* Josef von Hormayr, Imperial Chamberlain and Court official. This man had helped to bring about the revolt in the Tyrol in 1809, but had nevertheless remained on good terms with Ludwig, then Crown Prince, because the Baron knew how strongly the young man was opposed to his father's policy and to Napoleon, and how he had intervened on behalf of the Tyrolese. Since that time Ludwig had become one of the most zealous readers of Hormayr's works.

Ludwig desired Hormayr to give him a character study of the Austrian '*Grosskoph*ta', as Metternich was called. Filled with hatred, Hormayr reported: 'There is no policy of preservation in Austria, but only of deterioration and decomposition. . . . Prayer books, cookery books, and account books—beyond those the people need nothing! They must obey and pay—that is all! . . . Your Majesty can only satisfy the Great Cophta Party by destroying the Constitution, introducing the strictest censorship,

¹ Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 8th November, 1825. Vienna St.A.

² Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, III, 112.

³ Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, 21st November, 1825. Vienna St.A.

⁴ Max Spindler, "*Briefwechsel zwischen Ludwig I. von Bayern und Eduard von Schenk, 1823-1841*," Munich, 1930, p. XLIII.

and by one prohibition after another. . . .’ In spite of Hormayr’s tirade, the King admitted that there had been one great merit in the Chancellor’s career—in the interests of Europe he had opposed the son-in-law of his own Emperor, although he himself had been responsible for the marriage. As Crown Prince, Ludwig had already told the Austrian Statesman this, and now he repeated it as King: ‘You are the greatest diplomat, for you united the Christian Powers of Europe and kept them together for more than twelve years. The years come and go, but 1813 remains for me an imperishable memory. I rejoice to call myself a German; Austrians and Bavarians were meant to stand together. What a noble bond of sympathy unites the Houses of Austria, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria. My sole wish is that I always find the Prince Metternich of 1813. . . .’¹ A cordial letter from the King to his brother-in-law in Prussia, on the other hand, strengthened the good relations with that country to which ‘Bavaria owed so much’.²

Metternich, however, persisted in regarding the new King as a red-hot Jacobin who opposed the policy which the Chancellor was endeavouring to extend, not only to Germany but to the whole of Europe. To have merely a representative in Munich was not enough for Metternich, and he therefore sent Count von Clam-Martinic to spy out the land and send reports.³ The choice fell on an extremely able man. Moderate in his views, dispassionate and unselfish, he endeavoured to give a clear picture of the tendencies prevailing at the time, and of the King’s character. Scarcely had he been twenty-four hours in Munich when he heard complaints everywhere of the impatience and impetuosity of the young Monarch. The nobility criticized the disbanding of the Guards, and everyone, particularly the officials, complained of a change for the worse in their financial position. Anecdotes about the King were in circulation, which indicated plainly that he was regarded as a very contradictory, unbalanced, and vacillating person. Remarks made by Ludwig concerning the extravagance of his predecessor and the too great influence formerly exercised by the Ministers were misrepresented and exaggerated, and he was accused of finding fault maliciously with everything that had gone before.

¹ Ludwig I to Metternich, Munich, 20th November, 1825. Vienna St.A.

² Ludwig I to Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, Munich, 25th November, 1825. Brandenburg-Prussian House Archives, Berlin-Charlottenburg.

³ Report from Colonel *Graf* von Clam-Martinic on his mission to Munich on the accession of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, Vienna, 26th November, 1825. Vienna St.A.

One thing, however, was certain, and upon that all were agreed—anything which savoured of the former French influence would be openly and conscientiously rejected by the King. It was only natural that amongst the friends of Leuchtenberg and Montgelas there was biting criticism of the King and of the new order in which 'everything must be so different from what it had been in Max Joseph's time'.

After Clam had heard these different views he had an opportunity of forming a personal opinion of the new Monarch, as he was invited to hunt with him. Ludwig hunted once a week, 'for the sake of exercise'. The following day he received the Austrian in audience: 'Of all that my father bequeathed to me,' Ludwig said on that occasion, 'I consider our friendship with Austria the most valuable. The Emperor may rely upon me and I shall be worthy of his confidence. . . . No more foreign influence, Count. Since 1813 we have been free Germans again, and unity must be our watchword. I dislike French influence under the white cockade as much as under the *Tricolore*. . . . We must not forget history. . . . French policy has always been to sow dissension between the German Princes and Austria. . . . It will happen again. . . . Therefore union and mutual confidence are essential. You must have confidence in me.'

For the rest the King was very reserved and avoided discussing affairs of State in greater detail. But Count Clam had learned all that was necessary and, after careful consideration, he gave his verdict: 'King Ludwig appears to have a character which is easily read, but utterly incalculable. There is no doubt that he has an earnest desire to do right and a strong sense of his duty as King. . . . He has all the elements of an autocrat, side by side with the dreams and visionary ideals of liberalism. . . . The King is and will always remain in danger of . . . making grave mistakes—in spite of the best intentions. He wishes to make Bavaria happy. This is undoubtedly his earnest and pious wish. . . .'

The other Ministers also endeavoured to give their Governments some idea of the personality of the new King. The English Minister with great pleasure observed the King's dislike of anything French, which indeed he was at no pains to conceal. . . . The Englishman praised his industry, but the French Minister was more critical; most of all the King's appearance did not please him.¹ 'Nature has not been lavish in her bestowal of

¹ Marquis de La Moussaye to Baron de Damasse, Munich, 23rd November, 1825. Chroust, II, 6.

physical beauty on Ludwig. As Crown Prince he could never have flattered his parents' vanity. He is fairly tall but not well proportioned, and is disfigured by smallpox. Stammering in his speech and nearly deaf, he compares most unfavourably with the remainder of the Bavarian Royal Family, which is one of the most beautiful in Europe. But this almost repulsive appearance conceals an active spirit, a strong will and a heart which is filled with sincerity and a sense of justice.' This was no bad character sketch from a Frenchman who knew where the King's sympathies lay, but it is only fair to add that the charm and intelligence of the King's clear-cut features counteracted the plainness of his appearance.¹ The Frenchman was alarmed at the astonishing rapidity with which the King came to a decision: 'The King, whose ability cannot be questioned but who lacks experience in the affairs of State, has apparently fallen into the dangerous error of believing that he can bear the burden of Government alone. He is also particularly susceptible to flattery if it coincides with his moods and his opinion.'

The important question now came to the fore regarding Ludwig's attitude towards the various religious beliefs in the country. At that time there were in Bavaria 2·8 million Roman Catholics, about, 1,200,000 Protestants, and 60,000 Jews. Ludwig's religious leanings were well known, but it was also known that he refused to have anything to do with extremes such as were incorporated, it seemed to him, in Jesuitism. There should be nothing extreme, whether to the right or left—that was the King's decision. At the same time he wished to oppose energetically the 'enlightenment' introduced by Montgelas and, in accordance with the ideas and with the help of his former tutor, Sailer, whom Ludwig I described as the finest and best Bishop in Germany, to give religion that place in the State which in his opinion it merited.

Ludwig had set ideals before him—they were national and spiritual, and also ideals of art. He wanted to combine kingly consciousness with unfettered will, the Catholic faith with the knowledge of clear intellectual discernment. He wished to go back to the best traditions of his people, whilst allowing progress ample scope. The German soul should once more express itself. Why should political freedom be incompatible with the Catholic

¹ Louise von Kobell, *Unter den vier ersten Königen Bayerns*, Munich, 1894, p. 119.

faith? Sailer would be able to help him in this matter—that venerable old Bishop who also dreamed of German freedom, was at the same time a believer in the power of God's mercy, and was consequently in close sympathy with Ludwig's inmost thoughts. He should be his trusty adviser in all religious matters.¹ The first decoration which the King bestowed was presented to him: 'The most worthy shall be the first.'²

Sailer now began to realize what a tremendous influence he was suddenly to acquire over the most important matters in Church and State. He took counsel with his friends with regard to the first requests to be submitted to Ludwig, and the demand which headed the list was for the restoration of the monasteries, of which so many had been closed that not a single one was to be found in Munich. The Crown Prince had favoured this idea for some time past, and now as King he would carry it out.

At that time the King's first liberal measures were still in the forefront. He was able to concentrate entirely on internal affairs, as comparative calm reigned in foreign politics after the storms of the Napoleonic period. Only in the south the Greek fight for freedom continued, and the Bavarian King, to the consternation of Metternich who continued to regard the Greeks as rebels, granted considerable sums of money to the Munich Philhellene Association as the chief friend of Greece in his country. Since the struggle against the tyranny of the Corsican, Ludwig had not shown such a burning desire for anything as for a decisive Greek victory.

The King was anxious for as much intellectual freedom in his country as possible. One of the chief things in this connection was to avoid all State control of the printed word. There must be no censorship, which really only awakened distrust. 'It is also contrary to the Constitution,' declared the King, who at the end of November gave complete freedom to literature and the Press. The result was that within a very short time all the writers, satirists, and poets who had doubtful reputations elsewhere, flocked to Munich like moths to the light; many of them were Jews, such as Saphir the humorist, the gifted Michael Beer, brother of Meyerbeer, the composer and champion of equal rights for the Jews, and later also Heinrich Heine.

¹ Hubert Schiel, *Bischof Sailer und Ludwig I. von Bayern*, Regensburg, 1932, p. 61.

² Berthold Lang, S.J., *Bischof Sailer und seine Zeitgenossen*, Regensburg, 1932, p. 71.

Indignant at these measures, Metternich had representations made in Munich, but the King declared: 'I am responsible only to God and to the Constitution which I have sworn to uphold.'¹ The Chancellor was to learn at the outset that Ludwig would not submit to interference as did so many other German Princes.

The King was indefatigable in the affairs of State and enjoyed the work. 'Since I came to the throne my health has been uniformly good. . . . At times the work is rather heavy, but it is essential that I should take the lead in everything. . . .'²

In spite of the work Ludwig had no wish to change his personal habits:

'All that as Crown Prince I was wont to do
I shall still pursue as King.'³

He also continued his correspondence with various ladies of his acquaintance. His love for the Marchesa remained unchanged. He had perhaps written rather less frequently in the recent strenuous days, but Mariannina did not fail to write and describe her feelings '*quando ti seppi Rè*'.⁴ The letters which followed again referred to an administrative post on Lake Trasimeno which her husband desired should be given to him. Under pressure of Government work Ludwig replied rather curtly, and on 29th December the Marchesa ventured, in view of her financial embarrassments, to reproach him plainly: 'A real and sincere friend would not so summarily dispose of the personal concerns of his friend.'⁵ To the Marchesa much was permitted, but otherwise Ludwig was quick to become suspicious.

In general, however, the more ardently the King espoused a cause the less he liked opposition. In the words of Count Trauttmansdorff 'opposition only made him champion the contrary view and display what he considered to be strength of character'.⁶ In Vienna it was still feared that there would be a change of policy in Bavaria. The King was anxious to allay this anxiety, but could not refrain from expressing his Pan-German sentiments in a most inspiring fashion. He now determined to

¹ Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, III, 15.

² Ludwig I to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 20th November and 10th December, 1825. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Heinrich von der Tann, Munich, 20th December, 1825. Archives of the Tann family.

⁴ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, 3rd November, 1825. Munich H.A. ('When I knew that you were King.')

⁵ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, 29th November, 1825. Munich H.A.

⁶ Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 6th January, 1826. Vienna St.A.

follow his inclinations and to do something definite on behalf of culture and art. To this he had looked forward for a long time.

Munich was to become a new Athens, the centre and spiritual axis of all art. For this he needed someone with outstanding personality and he chose Eduard von Schenk, a highly cultured man with some talent for poetry. Schenk had implicit faith in the Divine Right of Kings, and shared his royal master's views regarding the co-operation of Church and State. The King wished to bring the artists and sculptors to Munich himself, while Schenk was to find the poets and writers.

Ludwig was very anxious to get to know Goethe, who was now seventy-eight years of age and at the summit of his fame. He wrote to the poet: 'I have a great longing to know Goethe, of whom my German Fatherland is so justly proud, if one may be proud of the merits of another. The great man would be received with open arms in Munich, but if he does not wish to come to Bavaria's capital I must find other means, for I cannot deny myself the great pleasure of making his personal acquaintance. It would be superfluous to repeat what I feel about you, as I extol my country for possessing a Goethe.'¹ But the venerable poet lived too much in the world of his genius and felt too old to undertake a journey to Munich, although it was a King who summoned him.

Ludwig wished to make the city on the Isar so charming and so magnificent that it would be a 'worthy vessel' for all arts and sciences. He had found his capital, with its 75,000 inhabitants, 'an architectural wilderness' and he determined to make it the most beautiful town in Germany. The architecture of two thousand years before was to serve as model for Munich's new public buildings. Ludwig dreamed of the marble temples of antiquity, of Palaces and triumphal arches like those of Florence and Rome, as designs for his new buildings. There was urgent need for some place which would be worthy to house the collection of paintings which belonged to the Royal House, and on Raphael's birthday was laid the foundation stone of the Pinakothek, planned in the magnificent style of a palace of the late Renaissance.

A new wing was also to be added to the Royal Palace, the cost

¹ Ludwig I to Goethe, 1st February, 1826. See *Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts* 1902, p. 190, and *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 1923, p. 49, in which all letters from the King to Goethe, whom he always addressed as "*Herr Staatsminister*", are published.

of which Ludwig proposed to meet from the Civil List and by the numerous economies made in the Court administration. Naturally a number of malicious and fault-finding persons criticized the King's fondness for building and exaggerated the costs, but Ludwig took no notice. He gave his orders, work was started, and in a short time the King was often to be seen where building was in progress, talking to the master-builders, craftsmen and workmen. He was all impatience and untiringly urged on the work so that his proud dreams might materialize in marble and masonry with the least possible delay.

Nor did the King neglect the sciences. He had long regretted that there was no university in the capital, and he now decided to transfer the Landshut University to Munich, and to summon the best representatives of each branch of learning to this seat of intellectual culture.

By this time Field-Marshal Wrede had returned from St. Petersburg whither he had been sent with a letter from the King to attend the accession ceremony of Czar Nicholas I. Now he heard of all that had been taking place in Munich and was full of anxiety regarding Ludwig's impetuous actions which, in his opinion, were too ruthless and unconsidered. The Field-Marshal deplored this to the Austrian Minister: 'The King pays too little heed to tradition. Quite apart from his impetuosity, the King entertains "too many confused ideas and eccentric projects". I have spoken to him on this matter with great frankness, and have attempted respectfully to remonstrate with him.'¹ Wrede wished that the King cared more for the army, where he had made such great reductions and introduced so many economies that both officers and men deeply resented the slight put upon them.

Ludwig began to feel the need of a rest after these initial activities. He longed to see his friend Mariannina, who wrote to him regularly. With little variation, but not entirely convincingly, she spoke of her love. Ludwig, under the spell of this woman, observed nothing and suddenly decided: 'I must see her again, at once, immediately.' The most important changes in the State having been carried out, he decided on 7th May to leave for Colombella on a six weeks' visit to the Marchese and Marchesa Florenzi.

The Austrian Minister was highly indignant; he had always hoped that Ludwig's first visit outside his own domains would be

¹ Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 2nd May, 1826. Vienna St.A.

to the Emperor in Vienna, and 'the news that the King was leaving for Italy came like a bombshell. *Cherchez la femme*. Love's dalliance in the Villa of an Italian lady (the Marchesa Florenzi, if I mistake not,) appeals more to the royal heart. . . . After the King . . . , to use the expression of experienced business men, . . . has made a thorough muddle . . . he suddenly deserts the field of his State experiments . . . to pursue an affair of the heart. . . .'¹

The Queen was most distressed at her husband's decision. She was expecting another child, and was particularly hurt at the King's intention to visit his friend, which constituted a public affront to the Queen. Nevertheless it was she, the unassuming, loyal, and faultless wife, who was the first to find excuses for her husband. It was a vital necessity for him—he needed the relaxation which the intercourse with beautiful women gave him, and he had a susceptible heart; if she objected and made scenes they would both be unhappy and the facts would not be changed. So she made the best of it.

Criticism in Munich, particularly amongst those people who felt themselves slighted by the King's first acts of State, was severe; but Ludwig did not care. He raised Florenzi to the rank of a Chamberlain of Bavaria and then left for Colombella. He was received by the Marchese and his wife at the gates of their country seat. With great pleasure the King saw a bronze tablet on the entrance door bearing the inscription: 'To the Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria who, from the 1st to the 24th of May, 1824, honoured this place with his presence, in grateful remembrance, Ettore Florenzi.' The King felt flattered as he entered the hospitable house. Glad to be free for a time from affairs of State in Munich, he declared²: 'I have been transferred to private life, or rather, I have transferred myself, so that sometimes I am surprised that I am King. . . . ' Ludwig I paid court to his hostess, but he also occupied himself with translating Herodotus. He tried to quieten his guilty conscience about his wife by a letter to her: 'Your right ear should have burned to-day when I praised not only the cheerfulness of your disposition but also your beauty, telling the Marchesa what a model wife you are.'

Ludwig, however, was soon to learn that the world regards a

¹ Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 6th May, 1826. Vienna St.A.

² Ludwig I to Therese, Modena, 11th May, 1826. Munich H.A.

King very differently from a Crown Prince, and that evil insinuations flourish in proportion. It was inevitable that his host, Florenzi, came in for his share, and he began to grow uneasy. The King, on the other hand, was unconcerned; he declared that he needed this private life in Italy to renew his strength for his duties as King.

On 17th June the King returned to Munich and left again immediately after on his visit to Austria. He drove to Lambach, where he met his sister and the Emperor. Metternich, who was worried by the continuous adverse reports from his Minister in Munich, caused serious representations to be made to Ludwig on account of his liberal tendencies and the numerous Government measures which he had initiated. The Emperor also warned Ludwig against his encouragement and support of the Greek rebels.

Ludwig left Lambach in a bad temper. The world did not yet know that the more attempts were made to dissuade him on any point, the more persistent he became. On his return to Munich the King made inquiries from a banker about the progress of money subscriptions for the Greeks. On learning that the Archbishop, nobility, and clergy had scarcely subscribed anything, Ludwig is said to have cried out in anger: "These damned priests! I shall find a way of compelling them."¹ Innumerable poems written by Ludwig at this time about the fall of Missolonghi and the Greek struggle for freedom prove the deep and lasting interest shown by the King in all that was happening in the most south-eastern part of Europe.

Ludwig constantly sought relaxation from politics in his favourite occupations of building and art. But here also things were not as they should be. Petty jealousies were beginning to cause serious embarrassments to the King, and this spoilt his pleasure. Jealous courtiers who had a personal grudge against the architect, Klenze, approached the King and whispered that this man was wielding a kind of autocracy, that he was like an 'Art Pope'.² Ludwig did not favour anything of that nature—he wished for open competition—and therefore he looked about for another good architect who could 'enter the lists with Klenze'. Similar disagreements arose amongst the painters, and Ludwig was placed in a difficult position between all these men whom he

¹ Minister Wolff to Metternich, Munich, 7th July, 1826. Vienna St.A.

² Von Pölnitz, pp. 140, 141.

held in great esteem but who, to use the words of Pölnitz, were 'constantly envious, full of accusations and ill-will towards each other, interspersed with scenes of reconciliation'.¹ But the King's belief in them triumphed over all this. He smoothed over the difficulties wherever possible and did not cease to encourage his turbulent artists.

Politics interested Ludwig least of all, but they were the inevitable adjuncts of his calling, and here too he adhered firmly to his own opinions. Metternich visited the King at Aschaffenburg, but was little inclined to support the territorial ambitions of a Bavaria which possessed such an odious Constitution.

During the first year of his reign, the King was pestered by requests from artists who wished to paint his portrait. He decided in favour of Stieler, whose portraits of beautiful women gave him such exquisite pleasure. Ludwig commissioned him to paint him in such an attitude as to represent the words: 'Justice and Determination.' The Austrian Minister maliciously suggested² that the words 'at times even obstinate' should be added. When the portrait was finished the King was very well satisfied and pointing to it said to the painter: 'Look at this man carefully; he will never allow himself to be led.'

It is true that even Bishop Sailer did not obtain the influence for which he had hoped. He attempted to admonish the King discreetly, and even took the liberty of reproaching him for his lapses: 'In order that the expectations evoked by the name of King Ludwig may not be disappointed, either through Your Majesty's private or political life, Your Majesty requires each day a special endowment of wisdom from on high, and continual self-control . . . which considers every act . . . and weighs every word.'³

By this time the transfer of the University from Landshut had been accomplished, and on 15th November the University of Munich was declared open by Ludwig I. 'Religion must be the foundation of life,' he said to the students. 'But I do not like bigots, obscurantists or hypocrites—youth is the time to enjoy life.'⁴ The Rector's speech on this occasion indicated a very independent spirit: 'Of greater importance than anything else for the progress of science is freedom of speech, the frank interchange

¹ Von Pölnitz, p. 147.

² Minister Wolff to Metternich, Munich, 21st August, 1826. Vienna St.A.

³ Sailer to Ludwig I, Regensburg, 21st August, 1826. See Schiel, p. 116.

⁴ Doeberl, *Festschrift*, p. 15.

of opinions. . . . There is always the possibility that it may be abused, but without it there can be no freedom.' The King agreed with such views and hoped that the University would come to be the resort of all capable men in his kingdom, 'for,' he opined, 'a general without an army is to me like a Prince who fails to surround himself with all the talent at his disposal.'¹

The first year of kingship had passed. Much had happened, but the world did not evince any great appreciation of the King's methods. It criticized and watched every step. It was certainly true that the moderation imposed by the Constitution, upon which Ludwig laid stress, was not always consistent with his inclinations and his actions. At the same time it was a pleasure to see Ludwig I stir up the sleepy administration with his activity and impatience—it was as if a cool, fresh breeze had passed through the Ministries. It was not surprising that there were complaints everywhere, and *Freiherr* von Zentner, Minister of Justice, said he had nothing else to do but 'continually to put a check'² on the King.

In Ludwig's speeches, in his answers to requests, he always managed to give offence to someone. For example, on the occasion of a visit to the Cadet Corps, the King said to the cadets: 'Rest assured that I will make no difference between any of you other than that of personal merit. I do not hold anyone in esteem just because he is rich or of noble birth if he is not at the same time a man of intelligence.' A young cadet had behaved foolishly in a love affair and was to be punished severely, but the King commanded that he should be pardoned; he could understand such things. The King's frequent and violent attachments to the weaker sex amused the lighter minded, but horrified the prudish. This was particularly the case on the occasion of a sleigh drive, when the King electrified the whole company by declaring: 'I shall renew the good old German custom of kissing the lady who bears me company.'³ It annoyed everyone that he made extensive use of this custom, but Ludwig only laughed. After his wife the first place in his heart was held by the beautiful Italian. Distance only intensified Ludwig's feelings for the dark-eyed southerner. Their correspondence continued as actively as ever. She was at that time studying German: 'It means so much to me because it

¹ Heigel, *Ludwig I. v. Bayern und die Münchner Hochschule. Quellen und Abhandlungen*, new series, p. 406.

² Trauttmansdorff to Metternich, Munich, 19th February, 1827. Vienna St.A.

³ Ludwig I to *Freiherr* von der Tann, Munich, 8th January, 1827. Archives of the Tann family.



LUDWIG I—1826.
Portrait by J. K. Stieler.

is the language of my Ludwig.¹ The King continually reiterated his love for the Marchesa,² adding at the same time praise of his wife. Mariannina replied: 'Being loved by you sends me into transports of delight. . . . I am so glad that you are now more happy in your marriage. . . . I know how deeply your wife loves you.'³

Stieler was ordered to take the King's last portrait to the Marchesa, and at the same time he was commissioned to paint this lovely woman. Ludwig decided that she should be the first picture in his *Schönheitssaal*, that gallery of beautiful women of which Ludwig had dreamed so long. This would be to some extent neutral ground against which even Ludwig's wife could have no objection, particularly if portraits of his sister, Sophie, and other relatives were hung here. In general, however, it was Ludwig's wish that only the highest form of beauty should give the right to a place in his gallery. Princesses, Countesses, and Marchionesses, great ladies of the theatre, dancers and modistes, even in one case the charming daughter of an honest shoemaker, would be next to each other in their beauty. Stieler started work immediately.

At the end of April Ludwig left for Italy. He paid a short visit to Perugia and then went to Rome for five days to see the Pope. The Marchese accompanied him in order to have the King's support in the settlement of his own affairs. In Rome the King purchased the beautiful Villa Malta with which he had fallen in love on his last visit. He did not desire a magnificent, princely residence but rather a comfortable, picturesque house for himself and his suite, and the possibility of offering artists a home and studio in the surrounding buildings. He called the estate '*Giardino di Malta*', because the house was to stand in a sea of flowers.

At Colombella Ludwig enjoyed the restful country life which was greatly enhanced by the presence of his beautiful hostess. There was no haste nor bustle, only pleasant faces on every side. His occupations alternated between the translation of Herodotus and amusing donkey rides in the neighbourhood. At first everyone seemed cheerful and in the best of spirits, but after a little while the King noticed that relations between husband and wife were not all that they should be. A governess, Margherita M., known as Ghita for short, was to some extent responsible. She was the confidante of the Marchesa, had often taken charge of letters

¹ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, 9th January, 1827. Munich H.A.

² Letter No. 308.

³ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, 6th March, 1827. Munich H.A.

without the knowledge of the Marchese, and had informed the King when her mistress was in need of money and did not wish to ask for it. The Marchese had heard that everyone was talking about his royal guest and that gossip was rife, and he reproached his wife angrily. Mariannina poured out her troubles to Ludwig, who tried to act as mediator. At the same time he reproached himself: 'I have occasionally been guilty of the same behaviour towards the Queen, but I have acknowledged my fault and our relations now are better than ever.' Ludwig took the opportunity of giving advice to his own wife: 'Always tell me gently, but not with tears, if I ever adopt an unsuitable tone towards you . . . for I wish to have pleasure in my beautiful, sweet, delightful wife. I have little pleasure in Munich apart from my wife and family, and in the knowledge of duty accomplished.'¹

The Queen was touched. She knew very well where her husband was staying, but thought it possible she was wronging him and that his feelings for the Marchesa were but another of those passing fancies of which she had already had so much experience. Therese even went so far as to send Ludwig a lithographic print of Stieler's picture of herself for his hostess who had asked for it. 'I am glad for your sake that you still have three weeks in which to enjoy the refreshing country air. Your dear, affectionate, intimate letter touched me to the depths of my heart. I want to have your approbation. Your words will be engraved on my heart.'²

In spite of his friendly reception, the King had the feeling that Mariannina cared less for him than he did for her. Her husband's attitude robbed her of her security. In her heart she felt that her husband was right if the affair was no longer to his taste, and though the King's love still flattered her vanity she became cooler towards him. Ludwig became aware of the strain and reproached Mariannina. Deeply hurt both in his feelings and in his vanity, he was prepared to believe that all the protestations in her letters and her advances were to the King alone and not to him as a man, and he was particularly sensitive on this point. Mariannina tried to disabuse his mind and wrote to him, although he was living in the same house, saying she felt hurt at his doubt of her, and she told him again: 'I feel deeply, even if the gift of expression has been denied me.'³

¹ Ludwig I to Therese, Colombella, 29th May, 1827. Munich H.A.

² Therese to Ludwig I, Munich, 3rd June, 1827. Munich H.A.

³ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, 3rd June, 1827. Munich H.A.

On 23rd June the King left Colombella to return to Munich. At once the storm burst between husband and wife. Ghita was dismissed, and the Marchese declared he would no longer be the laughing-stock of society. Mariannina calmed him down. She declared that she loved him alone, but that a certain indulgence had to be shown to a King. Peace was restored, and Ettore Florenzi accepted for himself and his children the King's invitation to Munich in the autumn.

Ludwig continued to take an intense interest in the heroic struggle of the Greeks. 'In this matter it is impossible to give advice to this man, who usually goes his own way, or to remonstrate effectively with him,' reported the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires.

Ludwig I had waited in vain for a visit from Goethe. Latterly he had read the Roman Elegies, which impressed him very greatly, for in them the King re-lived his own experiences in Rome. They were, moreover, expressed in Goethe's beautiful language, of which the King was not master.

*'Ja, es ist alles beseelt in deinen heiligen Mauern,
Ewige Roma. . .
O wer flüstert mir zu, an welchem Fenster erblick ich
Einst das holde Geschöpf, das mich versengend erquickt? . . .
Eine Welt zwar bist du, o Rom; doch ohne die Liebe
Wäre die Welt nicht die Welt, wäre denn Rom auch nicht Rom. . .
Ja, wir bekennen euch gern: es bleiben unsre Gebete,
Unser täglicher Dienst Einer besonders geweiht.
Schalkhaft, munter und ernst begehen wir heimliche Feste. . .
Hier befolg' ich den Rat, durchblättere die Werke der Alten. . .
Und belehr' ich mich nicht, indem ich des lieblichen Busens
Formen spähe, die Hand leite die Hüften hinab?
Dann versteh' ich den Marmor erst recht: ich denk' und vergleiche,
Sehe mit fühlendem Aug', fühle mit sehender Hand. . . .'¹*

¹ Goethe, *Römische Elegien*.

'Yes, all is inspired within thy sacred walls,
Eternal Rome. . .
Whose whispering is that, at which window shall I some time perceive
That charming vision whose ardour revives me? . . .
A world art thou, O Rome; yet without love
Were the world not the world and Rome were not Rome. . . .
Yea, we acknowledge thee gladly: our prayers
And our daily service are sacred to One alone.
Playfully, gaily and gravely we join in secret feasts. . . .
Here I follow the counsel, scan the works of the Ancients. . . .
And do I not learn perceiving the sweet bosom's form,
As the hand glances down to the hips?
Then first understand I the marble; I think and compare,
See with the feeling eye, and feel with the seeing hand. . . .'

Not only the appreciation of art and gallant adventure in Rome are described in these wonderful words, but even Ludwig's most recent experiences where calumny followed hard in the wake of love's happiness.

*'Schwer erhalten wir uns den guten Namen; denn Fama
Steht mit Amorn, ich weiss, meinem Gebieter, in Streit.'*¹

The King would have liked to underline ten times the words in which Goethe lauded Rome and the most beautiful things in life:

*'Freue Dich also, Lebend'ger, der lieberwärmten Stätte,
Ehe den flichenden Fuss schauerlich Lethe Dir netzt!'*²

Full of enthusiasm for the venerable poet, the King spoke a great deal about him, particularly to the two brothers Boisserée, originally rich merchants, who had later become art experts. They wrote to Goethe from Munich how much the town had gained by the 'strenuous endeavours of the King always directed to great and noble ends'.³ They also referred to the vivid interest Ludwig I showed in Goethe, and how greatly he desired to see the poet. Ludwig had long ago secured all his works. Letters which had hitherto passed between the King and Goethe differed little in character from what was usual between a monarch and a subject. There was nothing to denote that a Sovereign of royal birth was corresponding with a prince in the realm of thought. The key to this is supplied by the poet himself who said: 'Anyone who, like myself, has mixed all his life with exalted personages experiences no difficulties. The great point is never to show yourself entirely human and always to adhere to certain *convenances*.'⁴

The King's desire to meet Goethe had now become so ardent that he decided to visit the great man if the latter would not come to him. Ludwig arranged a visit to the Grand Duke of Weimar about the time of Goethe's seventy-eighth birthday. On 27th August, 1827, Ludwig arrived at Weimar, without his suite, and lodged at the Hotel "*Zum Erbprinzen*". Goethe knew nothing of the arrangement, but the same night he received a note from his secretary, Friedrich von Müller, who told him the news:

¹ 'It is hard to retain our good name, for Fame
Is in conflict with Amor—my Lord—as I know.'

² 'Rejoice then, O Living, in Love's ardent abode,
Before dread Lethe outstrips thy fleeting foot.'

³ Sulpiz Boisserée to Goethe, Stuttgart, 2nd April, 1827, in Sulpiz Boisserée's *Briefwechsel mit Goethe*, 1862, II, 470.

⁴ J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, p. 266, dated 12th April, 1829.

'Good luck, my esteemed friend! The day could not be heralded by greater radiance than that shed upon it by the arrival to-night of the King of Bavaria. I hasten to acquaint you with the fact.'

The following morning Ludwig visited the Grand Duke and then drove with him and the Hereditary Prince, in a light carriage, to Goethe's house. A number of people had gathered there to congratulate the venerable poet, with, possibly, the added expectation of at the same time seeing the King of Bavaria, whose arrival had become known. Goethe, dressed in the robes of office of a *Geheimrat* (Privy Councillor) and wearing his decorations, was in a particularly good humour, well and cheerful, and when the Princes arrived was showing the guests his birthday presents which had been set out in an adjoining room. Goethe wished to hasten to the door to greet his visitors, but Ludwig jumped out of the carriage and dashed upstairs, several steps at a time, to prevent the old man from coming down. They met in the ante-room. 'I am the King of Bavaria,' cried Ludwig, 'and have come here specially for your birthday.'¹ With that he embraced Goethe and could scarcely control his impatience while the seventy-year-old Grand Duke laboriously climbed the stairs after him. Out of his pocket Ludwig drew a small case of morocco leather which contained the Grand Cross and Star of the Civil Order of Merit of the Bavarian Crown.² This he handed to Goethe with the words: 'The King of Bavaria is inexpressibly delighted to act as his own Marshal of the Order and to hand to the King of Poets this decoration; it is an honour for the Order.' The King then pointed to the stars and crosses which adorned Goethe's coat: 'Doubtless you will find some little corner for this.' Deeply moved, the venerable poet stood before the two Princes, upright as his years permitted, as though he were receiving them in audience: 'I thank you. That is very, very beautiful.'

Ludwig would not allow him to continue speaking. In his own eagerness he spoke so loudly that the guests in the farthest room were able to hear every word. Seeing the poet had reminded him of the Roman Elegies. Full of curiosity he besought Goethe:

¹ Goethe to Sulpiz Boisserée, 1827, *Boisserée*, II, 478. Beyond this Goethe unfortunately only wrote: "To write all about it would fill many pages."

² For what follows see "Eckermann's Gespräche", "*Goethes Unterhaltungen mit Friedrich von Müller*," and two valuable works by Joseph Weiss: "*Vor 100 Jahren*," *Bayrische Staatszeitung*, Munich, 27th August, 1927, also Heinrich Pallmann's "*Goethes Beziehungen zur Kunst und Wissenschaft in Bayern und besonders zu König Ludwig I.*"

'What in them is truth, what is fact? It must all have been personal experience as it is so delightfully described.'¹

Goethe evaded the question: 'Your Majesty,' he said, 'a poet is generally able to evolve something good out of very little, and that was the case here.'

Unconvinced, the King shook his head. Then he overwhelmed Goethe with other questions, some of which were so peculiar that the poet dubbed them 'singularities'. 'Tell me, *Herr Geheimrat*, why are you called the "Last of the Pagans"?'

Goethe was embarrassed and again evaded the question: 'One must have a line of retreat so I fall back on the Greeks for my support.' But nothing could stop Ludwig. He kept up a flow of similar questions and Goethe was forced to take refuge in ambiguous answers: 'I do what they do in Normandy where the priest, when asked if he ever goes to church, replies: "*C'en est le chemin*."'² Half seriously and half amused, the Grand Duke watched the aged poet and the King—the one astute, calm, interested, full of pleasure at the royal visit—the other overflowing with eagerness, pacing up and down the room and speaking in loud and impassioned tones. Then Ludwig seized Goethe's ruby glass filled with sparkling wine and drained it to the health of the 'greatest German poet'. He had become quite heated whilst talking; the glass of wine did not suffice and he asked for more. Thereupon Goethe opened the door into the next room and called to his son in Frankfurt dialect: '*Auguscht, der Kenig von Bayern will ä Glas Wasser hawwe!*'

The following day the King expressed a wish to see Goethe again. Grand Duke Karl August sent the poet a note of warning: 'I am now about to drive with the King. We shall visit you at about 10 o'clock. Afterwards the King wishes to see the Library and Schiller's skull. You are the only one who could arrange this for him. . . .'³

More than twenty years had passed since the death of Schiller and the vault where the poet had been buried was quite full. Although the people there interred had been by no means paupers, the coffins were so numerous that the expression 'common grave' would not have been inappropriate. At the end of 1825 the sexton declared that the vault would have to be 'tidied up'. The coffins,

¹ Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, entry dated April, 1829.

² *Goethes Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler Friedrich von Müller*, published by von Burckhardt, entry dated 30th August, 1827.

³ Grand Duke Karl August to Goethe, 29th August, 1827. Hecker, p. 209.

mostly of wood, which lay in rows one on top of another, had rotted and broken open. The corpses had decayed, bones and skulls were piled together, and the name plates, where they still existed, had rusted and fallen off the coffins. In the vault was a chaos of mould, decomposition, and remnants of corpses and coffins,¹ and efforts were made to discover Schiller's bones from among the rest. Sixty-four persons had been buried there, but it was only possible to secure twenty-three skulls and, with Goethe's help, one was singled out as being that of Schiller on account of its length and size, but no certainty was possible in the matter. At the request of Duke Karl August this skull was set up in the Grand Ducal Library, and the bones were also placed there in a casket under Danecker's bust of Schiller.

This was the position at the time of the King's visit. Duke Karl August accompanied him on a second visit to Goethe on 29th August. The poet took them to the Grand Ducal Library and led them up to Schiller's skull and the casket with his bones, of which Goethe alone possessed the key. King Ludwig experienced a peculiar and deep emotion and could not hide his distaste. His religious feelings were offended at seeing the skull of this great man on exhibition as a show-piece in a museum. Goethe noticed this and said: 'Yes, Your Majesty, it is open to criticism, although the skull is certainly better preserved here than in the damp vault of the Church of St. Jacob where it was before.'

When Ludwig and the Grand Duke were alone on their way home the King earnestly begged his friend to give Christian burial and a grave worthy of the poet, to Schiller's remains. The Grand Duke could not but admit the force of the King's argument, and some time later decided to write to Goethe²: 'There are so many criticisms, most of them adverse, of the manner in which Schiller's remains (his head and skeleton) are kept in this Library that I consider it advisable to have them interred, in the casket as they are and with the head, in our family vault which I have had built in the cemetery here.' This was accordingly done.

The King's visit made a great impression upon Goethe. He was delighted, and wrote a description of it which he circulated with great pride amongst certain of his friends and acquaintances. 'It was an inestimable pleasure to me to see the King,' he wrote, 'for only now can I understand and form any idea of this remarkable, versatile individual on the Throne. To have lived in these

¹ Hecker, p. 108.

² Hecker, p. 211.

times and to have obtained no insight into the individuality of this man, whose forceful will is having so powerful an influence on the history of our time, would have been an irreparable loss. It is no small thing to assimilate such a great impression as that made by the King's presence, and to make an inward adjustment. One must get a clear idea of the significance of his personality. I am considering how I can show my gratitude to the King.'

On the same evening, 29th August, Ludwig went with Goethe's secretary to visit the house in which Schiller had lived in Weimar. With deep emotion the King walked through the humble little rooms. 'It is all the more admirable,' Ludwig cried, 'that Schiller was able to create such great masterpieces in such confined space—he was literally closed in. If only I had been my own master then I would have taken this wonderful man to Rome to the Villa Malta and urged him to complete that magnificent drama "The Knights of Malta", and to write the history of Rome amidst its ruins.'¹ But Goethe did not agree with this: 'Italy would not have suited Schiller. It would rather have depressed than uplifted him because he was not enough of a realist.'

On his way back to Bavaria, Ludwig meditated upon the events of the past few days. He understood Goethe's significance in the world and that his work and personality would live after him. In admiration and wonder he had listened to his speech. But although there was genius in every word Ludwig's heart had not been touched. He was not entirely satisfied—he felt like a dwarf amongst dwarfs in comparison with Goethe, the 'inaccessible, who resembled the loftiest mountain peak'. Schiller, the nationalist, was nearer and dearer to him. In Goethe he had missed heart, homeliness, intimacy, and did not realize that such characteristics do not show up so readily at a short meeting in the presence of numerous strangers. 'Only with my intellect paid I tribute to that great intellect,' declared the King, and he endeavoured to create a picture which should characterize both Schiller and Goethe:

'A glorious sun in splendour is
Goethe. Like the silv'ry moonbeam's kiss
Schiller sheds on the heart a God-like calm,
And Germania offers him the palm.'²

¹ Goethe's remarks on *Kanzler von Müller's* poem about Ludwig I's visit to Weimar in "*Dem Könige der Muse*", 28th August, 1827.

² Unpublished poem, "*Goethe und Schiller*," Munich H.A.

The visit made a profound impression everywhere. No reigning King or Emperor had hitherto sought out the aged poet in his home. 'Beautiful, wonderful!' cried Varnhagen. 'This King knows that Kings must also pay homage.'

In November, 1827, the *Landtag* met for the first time in the new reign. During its deliberations, which lasted for months and were presided over by the King, an enormous programme of nearly twenty-five new Bills was drawn up and presented to the Estates. Proudly Ludwig announced: 'This is the first *Landtag* since its existence which could be informed that the State budget shows no deficit.' The King expected enthusiastic assent, but this was lacking. The very qualities of which Ludwig was proud, and for which he expected gratitude—economy, building activity, and zeal in collecting—were misconstrued as meanness and expensive hobbies.¹

Ludwig I could listen to frank speech, but the sting remained. When the King wrote to his friend Tann after the close of the *Landtag*²: 'My firmness, which resisted all storms, gained the victory,' this was not strictly true. Scarcely one-third of the Bills were passed, and the opposition with which he met considerably damped his original pleasure in the Constitution. The greater the King's disappointment at the attitude of so many of the delegates the closer grew his intimacy with Tann, who gave daily proof of his loyalty, and kept Ludwig informed of all that was happening behind the scenes.

A man at once so loyal and so able was of the greatest value to Ludwig, for Bishop Sailer was more than right when he said: 'It is difficult to be a King, difficult to disperse the mists, thicker than the fogs in December, which are spread before the eyes of a King.'³

With Tann King Ludwig also spoke confidentially about the women of whom he was enamoured. At that time the actress, Katharina Sigl-Vespermann, and a new star were at the Court Theatre in Munich. This latter was Charlotte von Hagn, an enchanting girl of eighteen, who delighted everyone and who was particularly suited to classical parts. Her portrait was painted for the *Schönheitsgalerie*, and the King was often present when she sat for Stieler. He sent her his own poems, and she answered the

¹ Spindler, *Briefwechsel Schenk*, p. XLVI.

² Ludwig I to Heinrich von der Tann, Munich, 24th January, 1828. Archives of the Tann family.

³ Schiel, *Bischof Sailer*, p. 125, under the date 23rd December, 1827.

'King of Poets' with terribly bombastic effusions. On reading such lines as 'Fly upwards my spirit, fly up to the sun', it is difficult to resist the wish that it might stay there. But Charlotte was a great actress and charmed all who heard her. A lively correspondence developed between her and the King. Tann warned his royal master, tactfully advising him against visiting actresses in the full light of day, and Ludwig did not take these warnings amiss.

More serious matters again attracted the King's attention. A particularly important question had arisen: the desire of the various German-speaking States for an economic *rapprochement*. The King threw himself heart and soul into the matter. The French Minister was right when he reported to his Government that this economic alliance concealed the germ of a closer political connection.

The outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, in April, 1828, turned all attention to the east of Europe. King Ludwig, who expected from it the triumph of the Greeks over their Mohammedan oppressors, welcomed this turn of events. Prospects for the liberation of Greece were good.

'That I was the first Prince,' cried the King, 'who upheld this cause in word and deed, is a pleasurable feeling. Long before the outbreak of war the independence of Hellas was my desire. It was a matter very near to my heart. . . .'¹

In spite of political anxieties and work Ludwig felt very well. Amongst the friends of his youth there was not one who had remained so young at heart as himself.² He rejoiced as formerly at the acquisition of any art treasure and was triumphant when, after twenty years of effort, he at last secured Raphael's Madonna Tempi. The King had it brought in great haste to Munich, where it was hung in his bedroom, and for a while he would not be separated from it. He also read a great deal, both history and religious works, and he became more strongly convinced that preoccupation with the valuable works of the world's literature was one of the greatest pleasures of life.³

In spite of his preference for Schiller, Ludwig's pleasure in Goethe's immortal poems increased and, as a consequence, he endeavoured to renew his connection with Weimar. Most of all

¹ Reidelbach, p. 141.

² Ludwig I to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 17th May, 1828. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Sailer, Munich, 13th May, 1828. Schiel, p. 130.

he wished to have 'a striking portrait of the King of German Poets', and sent Stieler to Goethe with a letter recalling the 'instructive intercourse' of the previous year: 'Incomparable, far above all others is Goethe.'

When Stieler announced his visit, Goethe was not too pleased, as he was already pestered by artists. But as soon as he heard that the painter came from the King of Bavaria and read the latter's flattering letter, he agreed to sit for Stieler.

Goethe thought the finished portrait very successful, if a trifle flattering. 'You show me how I might look,' he said to Stieler. 'I would enjoy a few words with the man in the picture. He looks so handsome that he might still win a woman! Excellent! This is not a painting, it is flesh and blood, it is life.'¹

Ludwig was frankly delighted with the work and presented Goethe with a copy. Whilst the King was thus paying honour to Germany's greatest man, he turned his back on another poet. In 1827, Heinrich Heine had just published his popular book of verse, and had reached the height of his fame. Yet his future existence was not assured, for his biting irony and satirical, analytical style caused general misgiving. The poet's hopes now centred on Ludwig I, who had abolished the censorship in Bavaria. There, thought Heine, he would at last find a field for his work. He hoped to be called to the Munich University as Professor of Literature. In his writings and essays he praised the King and everything that was done in Munich. On New Year's Eve, 1827, he wrote to Friedrich Merker: 'Here in Bavaria, where we find a free people and, still more rare, a free King, we have also an excellent mental atmosphere and may therefore expect great artistic results.'² There grew up, however, particularly in Roman Catholic circles in Munich, a strong opposition to Heine's proposed appointment. His religious sentiments prevented the King from dissociating himself from the attacks on the poet which appeared in the publication *Eos*. Görres and others were also in opposition. Heine's conversion to Catholicism was of no avail. No one believed that this was due to honest conviction, and the poet was not appointed to the University. From the day on which Heine realized this his attitude towards Ludwig I changed completely.

About the middle of 1828, the conviction was forced upon the

¹ Stieler to Ludwig I, Weimar, 2nd July, 1828. Munich H.A.

² *Heinrich Heine's Collected Works*, published by Gustav Karpeles, Berlin, 1909, VIII, 131.

King that the doubtful Literati, whom the freedom of the Press had allowed to flock to Munich, were abusing their liberty in a most flagrant manner. This could scarcely add to the King's pleasure in his decrees, and it was from that moment that Ludwig began to manifest that inclination towards autocracy which, in spite of all his enthusiasm for a Constitution, lay dormant in his character.

The King had recently heard that he was accused of showing too great a preference for the Roman Catholic religion and its priests. That annoyed him the more because he intended to be ruler over the clergy as well as over his other subjects, and considered that it was wrong to regard him merely as a satellite.

'I am heart and soul for religion, but I will not tolerate clerical domination.' Tann rejoiced at this forceful statement: 'Yes, Your Majesty is capable of keeping presumptuous priests of any creed within bounds . . . but it is a daring move against public opinion. That unmannerly jade will have to learn that the twin towers of the *Frauenkirche* could bend more easily than her master.'¹

Whenever Ludwig was harassed by affairs of a disagreeable nature, his longing for his friend in distant Italy grew stronger. She continued to assure him that he was the man to whom she owed most in the world,² and she protested her love in the broken German she had learned to please him: '*Oh mein Geliebter, wieviel ich Dich liebe! Ich habe für Dich ein unbeschreiblicher und beständiger Liebe.*'³ Mariannina rejoiced when the King informed her that he was thinking of going to Rome early in the following year, and she decided to look for a house there for herself and her husband during that time.

The King intended to be away two months. He left Munich on 9th January, and on 17th was in his Villa Giardino di Malta on the Pincio. He did not visit Colombella first, and had even decided not to see the Florenzis this time. This decision was due in great part to the fact that the Marchese, on the occasion of his visit to Munich, had explained his difficult position to the King, but it was also due to hints thrown out by the dismissed governess that the Marchesa's interests were not confined to her husband and the King. Nevertheless, the King cherished secret hopes of a meeting.

¹ Heinrich von der Tann to Ludwig I, 31st October, 1828. Munich H.A.

² Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, 2nd September, 1828. Munich H.A.

³ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, 18th November, 1828. No. 330. Munich H.A.

In the meantime, Mariannina had received Ludwig's letter. She declared that her feelings were hurt, and that she would not come if it disturbed the King's peace of mind, but that it pained her deeply. Thereupon the King weakened and wrote that he left the decision in her hands. Mariannina answered promptly: 'I am coming, but I assure you that both my husband and I will avoid anything which might disturb your peace.' At the beginning of March they both arrived in Rome. 'The Marchese Florenzi and his wife are here,' Ludwig wrote home.¹ 'You can be quite easy about my nerves; the Marchese's conduct is very different this time, and besides, I am luckily cured of my infatuation. . . .'

The King was pleased to accept invitations every evening, not only from the aristocracy but also from lawyers and others. 'In Rome,' he stated contentedly, 'the different grades of society are less clearly demarcated and therefore more amusing.'² He wrote to his friend Tann³: 'In Rome I found the old Ludwig again whom in Munich latterly I had believed lost. Rome casts a spell over me, but the Jesuits do not. I have never had any sympathy with them and am now more than ever opposed to them.' In this opinion he was supported by the Marchesa, who had no good word to say for the priests and their temporal power. Ludwig gave her German lessons every day. Her husband looked on distrustfully, but gradually became reconciled, particularly as his wife treated the King in a markedly cooler manner.

It had long been Ludwig's dearest wish that his poems should be published, and at the beginning of March, 1829, an edition of 1,500 copies was brought out by *Freiherr* von Cotta, assisted by Schenk, the Minister of the Interior. Ludwig asked for criticism, but Schenk was too subservient to give an impartial verdict. On the contrary, he passed without any criticism poems which, although rich in subject matter, were nevertheless bad in style and of which Spindler wrote later that Ludwig had laid bare his innermost feelings with a total disregard for the rules of prosody.⁴ Schenk went so far as to speak of beautiful poems which he had read with the greatest delight; he even described some of them as jewels of the noblest art. From another also not disinterested side the King heard only praise. Cornelius asserted: 'Your elegies,

¹ Ludwig I to Therese, Rome, 11th March, 1829. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Therese, Rome, 16th March, 1829. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Tann, Rome, 17th March, 1829. Archives of the Tann family.

⁴ *Briefwechsel Schenk*, XIV.

Your Majesty, can aspire to a place beside those of Goethe¹; and, although Mariannina was offended that Ludwig had not presented her with the poems, she declared that 'in future they will be regarded and praised as the best book of the period'.

The King refused to be deluded. He had sufficient intelligence and self-criticism to say:

'Let not abundant praise deceive you, for that which you composed
Would sleep unsung, but that a Throne is yours.'

The publication of these poems caused a great stir in Germany. The first 1,500 copies sold like a flash, but there was great divergence of opinion. The French Minister, generally so critical of Ludwig, praised them and added: 'It must be admitted that the King is no ordinary man.'²

That might be, but the publication proved that Ludwig was no poet. Hatred and enmity were quick to pounce upon the weak spot. Opportunities for future attack were now provided for Heinrich Heine, who had been breathing threats of vengeance.³ Later, when his utterances against Ludwig became for political reasons more and more vitriolic, he frequently reverted in his 'Songs of Praise' to the subject of the poems:

'King Ludwig was a noble poet.
He sang—but Apollo lamented
As on his knees he besought the King:
"Stop! Stop! I become demented."'

Ludwig was still in Rome, in that city which Goethe also loved, where 'the dome of St. Peter's, towering magnificently over everything, seems like religion itself to float in space'.⁴ He wished to recall himself to the memory of the poet: 'I am writing to you from "our" Rome, where I always think of you. . . . I have shaken off the fetters of a throne for a while and am living happily as a private individual. Artists are always my guests. . . . Rome, eternal, unique, there is no other . . . there will never be another Goethe.'⁵

The poet was frankly delighted with the letter. 'There you have a King who, in addition to his kingship, has preserved his own fine

¹ Peter v. Cornelius to Ludwig I, Munich, 18th March, 1829. Munich H.A.

² Comte Rumigny to Comte Portalis, Munich, 4th April, 1829. Chroust, II, 174.

³ See the original manuscript of *Elementargeister* where Heine 'does not speak of King Ludwig, but, on the contrary, of King Solomon'; also 'Atta Troll', where Heine made fun of King Ludwig's German style.

⁴ *Gedichte Ludwig I*, I, 372

⁵ Ludwig I to Goethe, Rome, 26th March, 1829. *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1823.

character,' he said to Eckermann. 'He is a rare phenomenon and all the more delightful for that reason.'¹

After Goethe had glanced through the book of poems, he wrote to the King, and his letter was in strict accordance with Court etiquette and the respect due to such a high personage: 'The gift of poetry is peculiar in that it compels him who possesses it to reveal himself. Poetic outpourings are involuntary confessions in which our deepest feelings are revealed and at the same time adapt themselves to external conditions.'²

At the beginning of May Ludwig returned from Italy. He was disappointed in the Marchesa. Ghita had hinted, both rightly and wrongly, concerning a certain Gasperino in Perugia whom Mariannina liked and who was paying her attention. The King was convinced that she was already lost to him for ever.

'I have come back from Elysian fields,
Back to the earth, and the cold, and the rain;
Nothing is left of my dream of delight
But the memory of love—and the pain.'³

Ludwig decided to ask the Marchesa outright whether anyone had fallen in love with her. Mariannina did her best to dissipate his doubts, declaring: 'I am not in love with Gasperino. The familiar "thou" by which I address him is customary among good friends in Italy. But it would be a tremendous sacrifice to renounce his friendship. It would pain me very much to give him up and only for your sake would I do so. I repeat, I love you tenderly, and more than anyone else on earth. Passion is over . . . but loving friendship remains. . . .'⁴

To the disinterested reader this would not appear to be a real love-letter, but Ludwig did not want to probe too deeply. To have discovered the true state of affairs would have pained him much. He clung to the words: 'I love you tenderly,' and made no attempt to learn more.

After numerous vicissitudes the Russo-Turkish War had led in the autumn to the Peace of Adrianople and to a conference which was to declare the independence of Greece, a state of affairs which pleased the King immensely. There was already talk of a London plan for giving a king to Greece, and Ludwig declared that no

¹ Eckermann, *Gespräche*. Entry dated 8th April, 1829.

² Goethe to Ludwig I, Weimar, 13th April, 1829. Munich H.A.

³ Sonnet by King Ludwig 'In Beziehung auf Mariannina', 9th July, 1929. Munich H.A.

⁴ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Faenza, 2nd August, 1829. Munich H.A.

European Prince would be more suitable than a member of that royal house whose ruling head had given the Greeks so many proofs of his ardent sympathy. He decided to draw the attention of the Powers to his second son, Otto, although he was only fifteen years of age.

The King of France at this time was proposing that Ludwig's eldest son, Crown Prince Max, might be a possible husband for one of the daughters of the Duc d'Orléans. In this way Paris hoped to bring Bavaria gradually under French influence. But the King would not hear of a Frenchwoman as his son's wife. With the usual excuses of 'too young', 'no wish to force', 'disinclination to marry someone he had never seen', Ludwig with difficulty evaded the issue.¹ All these important matters had to be decided at a time when he was not in the best of health. He had not left his room since the *Oktoberfest*, but he read, wrote, and worked so much that he said himself: 'I do not lose patience. I know how to occupy my time and am quite cheerful.'²

Ludwig continued to plan the buildings of the magnificent street which was to bear his name. Gärtner had designed the *Ludwigs-kirche*, but the construction of this church was not generally considered necessary, and the Municipality opposed it as, apart from the King's contribution, they had to bear the chief expense. They tried passive resistance, but the King let it be seen that he intended at all costs to have his own way. When in November, 1829, there were still no definite building contracts, the King declared: 'So, they don't want to! Well, I will see whether they will find the money. They do not know me yet, these gentlemen, and they will have to learn that I am a Wittelsbach. I have the Wittelsbach head, made not of iron but of steel which never yields. . . . I will brook no opposition.'³

His illness had the effect of making the King read more than ever. Most of all he was gripped by Goethe's autobiography, '*Dichtung und Wahrheit*', but its title made him thoughtful; how much could one accept as truth of a book which bore the title 'Romance and Truth'?

The independence of Greece, proclaimed on 3rd February, and the consequent victory of Ludwig's ideas over those of Metternich

¹ Comte Rumigny to Prince Polignac, Munich, 9th December, 1829. Chroust, II, 227.

² Ludwig I to his son Max in Göttingen, Munich, 1st November, 1829. Thiersch, p. 111.

³ V. P. Winfried *Freiherr v. Pölnitz, Kämpfe um die Münchener Ludwigskirche.*

removed an important cause of disagreement between the Chancellor and the King, and afforded the latter an opportunity to seek a *rapprochement*, for Ludwig was anxious not to antagonize Austria altogether. Metternich was all-powerful in Vienna at that time, and it was imperative to pay him some attention, so Ludwig sent the Chancellor a bust of himself.

The French Minister was of the opinion that the King inclined suspiciously to absolute power. He already considered Ludwig a complete autocrat who simply wrote in the margin of reports what was to be done. 'The King decides absolutely everything, and by himself. The Ministers are nothing but myrmidons who carry out his bidding. He has given them official functions but no authority.'

One thing was certain: the whole world was now aware that there was a King upon the Throne of Bavaria who made decisions and refused to be led, either by Ambassadors or by his own Ministers—a King who adhered rigidly to the Constitution, although here and there he had begun to chafe against its fetters.

¹ Comte Rumigny to Prince Polignac, Munich, 27th February, 1830. Chroust, II, 246.

REVOLUTIONARY ANXIETIES

1830-6

Up to the end of February, 1830, the King's recovery was slow: he had not left his room and his sofa for nearly twenty weeks. He then decided to go to Italy to recuperate and to take the baths at Ischia, although it was difficult to leave the country at that moment when important decisions had so often to be made. But health after all was of supreme importance. So Ludwig travelled south by way of Perugia. He arranged a meeting with the Marchesa in Panella on the island of Ischia. The King looked forward with some misgivings to this meeting, for Ghita, who often wrote to him, had frequently hinted that Mariannina no longer loved him 'passionately'. On his departure, Queen Therese said to him, not without irony: 'You will doubtless return home worn out by the exhausting struggle between mind and emotions, even if the former triumphs.' During his illness Ludwig, according to his own confession, had often been brusque with his wife, but this wonderful woman had borne with him sympathetically and even agreed to his journey.

The baths of Ischia were beneficial to both Ludwig and the Marchesa. The King's physician treated them both. Ludwig continued to render homage to the beautiful woman, who was now twenty-seven years of age. He gave her 'who rivalled Venus in beauty' a small statue of the goddess which had been found in Pompeii. Still, however, curiosity and jealousy assailed him, and at last he questioned her point-blank about Gasperino, and Mariannina confessed that she loved him. He tried to talk her out of it. 'You are and always will be my guardian angel, you "*donna senza pare*". Let me enjoy the bliss of being yours.'¹ At the same time the King cooled off considerably and reassured his wife: 'This time at least, you will have no cause for complaint. I thank God that . . . there is no need to struggle against temptation, although the Marchesa is more beautiful than ever. My doctor took her for a girl of eighteen (although she has been married

¹ Ludwig I to the Marchesa Florenzi, Ischia, 27th March, 1830. Munich H.A.

eleven years), and seventy-year-old Dillis said to me that he did not dare look into her eyes for fear of falling in love with her. But my imagination is busy with you, you charming woman.'

Before Ludwig returned home after the successful cure at Panella, he wished to spend some time at Colombella. He was not idle there, but enjoyed freedom to choose his own occupation instead of being forced to the 'compulsory service' of his prison in Munich.¹ Mariannina was sad when the King left her in the early days of June. 'But I comfort myself with the thought that our souls are not divided and never, never can be.'

In Munich the King learned that the French Court had made fresh overtures regarding a marriage between a Princess of Orléans and Crown Prince Maximilian. The King became more definite and declared: 'The thought of such a connection with France is utterly repugnant to my whole being. . . . If I were not opposed to it, I would have suffered in vain and would, so to speak, have wiped out the whole of my early life.'²

In the meantime, Ludwig had appointed his namesake, Lodovico, the son of the Marchese Florenzi, to be a page. Jealousy tormented him and he wrote very long letters to Ghita: 'I fear that with "*Lodovico assente Gasperino presente*", the mistress of the Colombella will again give him her heart, or at least divide it between us. I should be desperate if she concealed the least thing from me and I were thus forced to despise her.'³

Then he wrote to Mariannina herself: 'It would be better not to see you again than to feel the torments which overwhelmed me in your presence at the thought that your heart, the possession of which would give me the greatest happiness, burned with ardour for another. I was mistaken when I believed that I would never have a rival. I have done everything I could to make you happy and you have made me unhappy. I know, Mariannina, that it was not your intention, but the fact remains. Whether I ever see you again depends upon you.' But on reading it over, the King hesitated to send this momentous letter.

In the midst of all these love affairs, a political event took place which stirred the whole of Europe. Charles X of France believed he could reorganize his kingdom on reactionary lines and seize the power by a *coup d'état*. By the famous Ordinances of the

¹ Ludwig I to Therese, Colombella, 16th and 23rd May, 1830. Munich H.A.

² *Freiherr* von Spiegel to Metternich, Munich, 29th December, 1830. Vienna St.A.

³ Ludwig I to Margherita, Bad Brückenau, 21st July, 1830. Munich H.A.

26th July, 1830, he dissolved the Chamber, arbitrarily amended the franchise, and abrogated the freedom of the Press. The French rose, sanguinary street fighting took place, the King was deposed, and Duc Louis Philippe of Orléans, the Bourgeois King, was proclaimed in his stead. It was a blow against autocratic rule and the suppressors of freedom, of the Metternich school. The consequences were tremendous. The liberal party began, in Bavaria as elsewhere, to raise its head. In the subtle phrase coined in Paris 'The King rules but does not govern', Ludwig discerned a sword directed against himself. Such principles, in his opinion, undermined a king's prestige. He would never submit to this, and would take precautions against them in Bavaria. He now listened avidly to Metternich's continuous homilies concerning the introduction of a strict censorship and the measures necessary to offset liberal aims. The first few years of his reign had already shown him that it was easier to be liberal-minded as an irresponsible Crown Prince, than to govern as a limited monarch, even though the limits be self-imposed.

Ludwig sought out Field-Marshal Wrede. Confronted by the changed situation, Ludwig's views were more in accordance with those of the old General, and the latter passed the result of the conversation on to Metternich. Triumphantly the Chancellor heard that the King had 'changed his views' and had relinquished every form of liberalism.¹ That was putting the case too strongly, but the idea that appeared to prevail in France that power should be derived from the lowest classes was incompatible with Ludwig's convictions. He had been through the Great Revolution, had lived through the twenty-five years of war that followed it, and he regarded what had happened in Paris as the preliminary to a similar period of suffering and bloodshed and, not least, as a fresh menace to nationalism.

From all sides alarming news reached the King. The Bavarian Minister in Berlin, Count Luxburg, reported rumours of an intervention in France by the Powers: 'The political outlook becomes daily more gloomy. I cannot conceal from your Majesty that I am more than ever anxious concerning the outbreak of a European war.'²

With increasing excitement Ludwig followed the contradictory reports of disturbances all over Europe. Nothing of the kind was

¹ Oskar, *Fürst von Wrede*, p. 74.

² Graf Luxburg to Ludwig I, Berlin, 7th September, 1830. Munich H.A.

noticeable in Bavaria, but a change might come any day. 'What times we live in!' the King wrote from Berchtesgaden to the Crown Prince of Prussia.¹ 'Revolution is lauded to the skies and defence is regarded as punishable. Up to now everything is quiet in my country, but whether it will continue to be so I do not know; I only know that I will not be forced, by illegal methods, to agree to anything. Close alliance with Prussia appears to me to be Germany's only hope of well-being.'

Metternich added fuel to the fire and purposely kept the King in suspense regarding the danger of revolt in Munich. He decided to exploit Ludwig's gnawing anxiety because of the obscure situation and future developments. This was the moment to convert the King of Bavaria completely to his own opinions. Metternich made use of the Bavarian Minister at the Court of Vienna to have a letter taken to Ludwig I in Munich. The letter advised the King 'to adopt the conservative policy of Prince Metternich and protect Europe from the irruption of democratic power, or rather, democratic anarchy.' The King was ready to agree: 'I abhor revolution and all those who make it. I hear from every side that I must be on my guard. . . . I have done everything that could be done for the people without overstepping the limits; but,' he said, pointing to the end of his little finger, 'if the very slightest revolutionary feeling had been manifested . . . it would have been war to the knife between me and these people.'²

In the face of the disturbances which again spread from France to the rest of the world, Ludwig considered it important to reiterate: 'My policy is *Teutsch*, has been *Teutsch* all my life.'³ It gave him particular pleasure just at this time—on the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig—to say, when laying the foundation stone of the Valhalla, that Temple of Honour for all Great Germans: 'In these stormy times may all Teutons stand as firmly together as the stones of this building are joined to one another.'

In spite of these stirring events King Ludwig's inflammable heart continued to be enslaved by beautiful women. Although he knew that Mariannina's thoughts were now occupied with

¹ Ludwig I to Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, Berchtesgaden, 30th September, 1830. Brandenburg-Prussian House Archives.

² Report of the Bavarian Minister in Vienna on his mission to Metternich, Irlbach, 22nd October, 1830. Vienna St.A.

³ Ludwig I to Graf Armanseberg, Munich, 3rd December, 1830. See Söltl, J. M., *Ludwig I. König von Bayern und Graf Armanseberg*, 1886, p. 28.

another, he was pleased when she wrote: 'If I ever had another child, I would rather have it by you than any one else.'¹

But was that true? The King sought consolation with another woman, Kathinka, a *Hofsängerin* (Court Singer), who was married to the actor Vespermann. Libellous rumours and gossip were rife in Munich. The King, who was attracted by Kathinka's gaiety, her childlike cheerful nature, and her entrancing beauty, defended her in poems. He visited her frequently; he was enchanted and she was flattered and pleased. He soon begged for her friendship, used the familiar 'thou' in speaking to her, and asked her to do the same and to call him by his Christian name, begging her to be entirely frank in everything. The King's admiration embarrassed the actress. She was expecting a child by her husband, was as nervous and excitable as Ludwig himself, who even lost his temper with her at times, only to apologize afterwards by writing long letters 'To Katinka, enchanting Katinka'. One poem after another was written to her:

'Queen of Muses, thou the rarest
In the God of Love's domain,
Of thy sisters thou, the fairest,
In the realm of Art dost reign.'²

The King wished to be her friend for life and begged her 'to preserve their union for ever'.

The Queen watched this new flirtation with deep anxiety and pain. His affairs with actresses were particularly abhorrent to her, as such persons were more in the public eye and their relations could not be kept secret for long. Moreover their social standing at that time was not good. Therese knew that reproaches would not avail: as usual at such times, she withdrew herself from her husband and treated him with greater coldness. That, she knew from experience, had far more effect than if she were to make scenes.

In spite of all that was happening in France, the peace of Bavaria had not yet been disturbed. The fear remained that unrest might still come, and the constant warning of Metternich, who declared that Ludwig had turned his kingdom into a veritable 'asylum for pamphleteers',³ began to have more weight with the

¹ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Colombella, 28th October, 1830. No. 453. Munich H.A.

² *An Katinka*. Munich H.A.

³ Metternich's instructions to Trauttmansdorff, 19th February, 1830. Vienna St.A. See also Stern's *Geschichte Europas*, III, 240.

King. 'I was once an advocate of the freedom of the Press,' he declared, 'but even before the July revolution I had convinced myself that it is impossible to rule with it in Germany.'¹

A Cabinet decree early in November, 1830, ordered the expulsion of numerous newspapermen of bad repute. The King's anxieties were increased by the spread of the revolution from France to Belgium. The Minister of the *Roi bourgeois* was mistaken in his belief that the situation was the same as in 1805 and that Bavaria was again faced with the question of deciding for or against France. Ludwig would have nothing to do with that country which had once more brought revolution into the world. At Christmas time there were some insignificant disturbances amongst the students in Munich. The King exaggerated these incidents to himself and imagined the revolution had started. He was in the Royal Chapel when a crowd of students passed noisily through the streets on their way to serenade a sick comrade. Official persons crowded round the King and told him that daggers with the inscription 'Freedom or death'² had been ordered, and that the students had planned to set fire to the town at four points simultaneously.³ They succeeded in throwing Ludwig into a state of panic. He called up the Landwehr who, with a few blows from their swords, soon dispersed the crowds. Although the King said: 'Attempts to inflame the populace were without result and the citizens gave splendid proof of their loyalty,' he was nevertheless convinced, as he wrote to his son, that the quick restoration of law and order was due entirely to the strong measures taken by him. The King only acted with such severity under the pressure of external events. Personally, he would rather have given his people only the pleasant things of life.

His infatuation for the actress Sigl-Vespermann had reached its height. The King went so far as to say that the last three months of 1830 and the first half of January, 1831, was the happiest time of his life 'because rare pleasure filled his being'.⁴ This pleasure was now at an end for the present as the actress who was the cause of it left Munich in the middle of January to give performances in Paris and London. She had told the King quite plainly that matters could not continue as they were, and

¹ Karl Glossy, *Literarische Geheimberichte aus dem Vormärz*, Vienna, 1913, p. CXXI.

² Ludwig I to Crown Prince Max, Munich, 1st January, 1831. Munich H.A.

³ Heigel, *Ludwig I.*, p. 131.

⁴ Ludwig I to Katharina Sigl-Vespermann, Munich, 31st January, 1831. Munich H.A.

with a heavy heart he agreed to her departure. She was scarcely three hours' journey from the town when the King felt impelled to write to her, his 'loved and most loved Katinka. Just because your candour was painful to me, it pleased me the more. . . . I feel sad and tears are never far away. The Queen told me that she considered it natural I should feel as I do and that I should not attempt to appear otherwise. . . . Katinka . . . if you could only love me, your Ludwig would be drunk with happiness. But continue to tell me only what you really feel for me. . . . My wife is very gentle with me, she is indulgent with my sorrow, even avoided passing your house when I accompanied her on a sleigh drive. Exquisite enchantress who has bewitched and cast your spells upon Ludwig. . . . Katinka how I miss you! How impossible to replace you. . . . Since your departure I have only visited old ladies. Since you are gone one unpleasantness follows another. I have robbed myself of the only place of refuge where I could find relaxation and comfort. What was I thinking of to grant you leave to go? . . .'¹

The King here referred to the political situation, for the censorship and other measures, adopted in the atmosphere of panic which Metternich had fostered, had only spread anxiety for the future amongst the population. Pressure entailed counter-pressure and the result was a storm throughout the country. Pamphlets were distributed:

'Complete freedom is our right.
He who thinks we are slaves
Does not know us.'

Protests with innumerable signatures reached the King. The belief was rife in liberal circles that Ludwig had been converted to Metternich's policy.

The King's alarm at the spread of the July revolution in France seemed certainly to be justified. The Italian patriots, who hoped to unite their country and to do away with the antagonistic papal rule in the States of the Church, succeeded at last—inspired by the ardent spirit of Mazzini—in raising a revolt in Romagna, in the Marches, and in most of the towns of the eastern Papal State. These fell easily into the hands of the revolutionaries. Even in Rome the Pope was only with difficulty able to hold his own.

¹ The passages quoted are taken from letters from Ludwig I to Katharina Sigl-Vespermann, dated 17th, 18th, 21st, 25th, 29th, and 31st January and 9th March. Munich H.A.

With terror the King saw that Perugia, which was close to his beloved Colombella, was also threatened. Although his relations with the Marchesa had caused him much vexation, Ludwig could not forget her. He had continually intervened with the Pope for her husband and in her letters Mariannina always succeeded in touching his heart: 'It is true that mad passion (*il delirio*) is a thing of the past, but instead there is a sweet and intimate feeling which offers me all the delight and enjoyment of a tender friendship and sincere affection. I can never tell you how very dear you are and how indissolubly I feel bound to you.'¹ The King was particularly interested in Mariannina's attitude to events in Italy. He, the Roman Catholic King, who was opposed to everything in the nature of a revolution, and to whom the unity of Italy meant nothing, naturally had no sympathy with the rebels. With the Marchesa it was different. The soul of this woman was filled not only with flirtations and friendship, as had hitherto seemed to be the case, but also with an idea, an unquenchable longing for liberation from the system of small States, for relief from grinding fetters, for realization of the great national ideal of the unification of all Italian-speaking countries under one head, whom the nation would recognize as supreme.

The revolt in the Papal dominions aroused a veritable outburst of hatred against the assumption of Temporal Power by the Church. It was soon known in Rome that Mariannina's sympathies were not on the side of Papal rule. She felt some embarrassment with regard to King Ludwig, whose views she knew. She wrote to him that she could not act otherwise unless she was prepared to expose herself to the scorn of all around her.²

France—'Pandora's Box'—in the meantime gave further cause for misgivings. It was generally believed in Germany that war was inevitable. The South German rulers, who would be the most exposed to any possible attack, took counsel together so that the 'storm of the times', as the King of Württemberg expressed it,³ 'should not find them unprepared.' The King of Bavaria was anxious to avoid war and wrote expressing his political creed, to his 'dear neighbour': 'Separation from the rest of Germany would, to my mind, be fatal for all the German States. The salvation of

¹ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Perugia, 3rd February, 1831. No. 472. Munich H.A.

² Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Perugia, 5th April, 1831. No. 482. Munich H.A.

³ King of Württemberg to Ludwig I (29th January, 1831?). Munich H.A.

each individual State is dependent upon the closest union of all Germans and therefore it is essential that we should hold fast to Prussia.¹ Ludwig emphasized this point in a draft of a letter to the King of Prussia: 'I am not in favour of neutrality by any individual State although I recognize the value of peace, but only if this means peace for the whole of Germany. I recognize neither North nor South Germany, but Germany alone, and I am convinced that . . . Prussia and Bavaria in particular should be closely united and should stand or fall together.'²

The French Minister in Munich reported correctly that Ludwig was antagonistic to France, who would never be able to count upon him with any certainty.³ His sister, the Empress in Vienna, said in this connection: 'The Emperor appreciates your German nationalism, but how can you expect the French to understand it? They have always founded their power on the disunion of the German princes.'⁴ Ludwig, however, expressed his feelings as follows: 'Not to-day, nor to-morrow, but one day, perhaps sooner than one thinks, France will attack Germany.'⁵

On the 8th of March, 1831, the new *Landtag* met. Amongst the chosen delegates was the King's friend Tann, and Ludwig congratulated himself on the fact: 'I could find no one more loyal.' In truth, the King would have need of him for great struggles were impending. In comparison with the last *Landtag*, the whole picture had taken on a completely different aspect. Formerly, Ludwig had been accused of being too liberal, and he was therefore opposed by the members of the First Chamber, consisting of the conservative nobility and high dignitaries of the Church. This time he was decried as reactionary, and the members of the Second Chamber were his enemies.

Ludwig had to realize immediately that most of the decrees since the July revolution in France were incompatible with the Constitution. The Estates placed the King himself in dock when they declared that his Chief Minister, Schenk, deserved to be put on trial for his decree against the Press. Ludwig had to listen

¹ Draft of a letter from Ludwig I to the King of Württemberg, Munich, 6th March, 1831. Munich H.A.

² A draft in King Ludwig's handwriting of a letter from him to King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, Munich, 6th March, 1831. The original of this letter is not in the Brandenburg-Prussian House Archives.

³ Comte Rumigny to Comte Sebastiani, Munich, 21st March, 1831. Chroust, II, 374.

⁴ Empress Karoline Auguste to Ludwig I, Vienna, 9th May, 1831. Munich H.A.

⁵ Reidelbach, p. 109.

to the accusation that all the severe over-hasty measures had been unnecessary, as everything was peaceful in Bavaria. On the 12th of June, however, Ludwig agreed to the revocation of the decree regarding censorship and, after that, was received with a storm of applause when he appeared at the theatre. But he felt humiliated. His assent had been wrung from him, and the Second Chamber in particular was dissatisfied. Objections were made to the magnitude of the Civil List, and funds were actually refused for the continuation of the building of the Pinakothek, under the pretext that these were needed for more important matters. The King was unnecessarily provoked, disparaged, and criticized. His love for art, his building and cognate activities were all classed together and labelled luxury and extravagance. That was not the way to treat a King who had previously suffered so much on behalf of his liberal opinions, who had brought order into the finances of his country and beautified and enlarged his capital, a King imbued with the desire to make his people happy. It is true that Ludwig had allowed himself too much latitude, but now the opposition was doing the same and was thereby driving the King back into the much criticized reactionary camp.

Whilst these struggles were in progress, the King was delighted to have more frequent and affectionate letters from his eldest son. Amongst other things, the Crown Prince wrote from Göttingen, where he was studying, that he was growing daily more interested in history and it was, in fact, his favourite study.¹ 'It is gratifying,' Ludwig replied, 'that you are concerning yourself with that subject which should be a Prince's breviary.'²

The King then described the struggles in the *Landtag*. 'Even if the present misunderstands me, the future will give me my due. I am fighting for the rights of the Crown and therefore for you too, my dear son.'³

The Crown Prince expressed a wish to be allowed to go to Italy at some convenient opportunity. The King's relations with this 'Land of Sunshine', for which he shared the love and enthusiasm evinced by all Germans, particularly the greatest among them, had been somewhat disturbed although not entirely severed by

¹ Thiersch, p. 135. Crown Prince Max to Ludwig I, Göttingen, 10th June, 1830.

² Ludwig I to Crown Prince Max, Bad Brückenau, 4th July, 1830. Thiersch, p. 135.

³ Ludwig I to Crown Prince Max, 11th July, 1831. Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, III, 108.

the revolution. Ludwig had continued his correspondence with the Marchesa in spite of the recent jealousies and misunderstandings, but Mariannina recognized that her relations with the King had suffered greatly. She heard of Ludwig's other infatuations, and, as he did not come to Italy, she thought it would be best for her to visit Munich with her husband. This intention fitted in very well with the Queen's plan of paying a long visit to her old home at Hildburghausen. Immediately gossip scented out some connection between this journey and the visit of the Marchesa whose arrival in July, 1831, was, as the English Minister reported home, an 'unfavourable sensation'¹ for the King. The whole matter was extremely disagreeable to Ludwig; he had a bad conscience in regard to his wife, who with exemplary forbearance made no reference to this painful visit. On the contrary, she took an affectionate farewell of Ludwig as if nothing at all had occurred. The King was touched. Hardly had Therese been gone a few hours when he wrote to her penitently²: 'I have never felt any parting from you as much as this one . . . and yet it is the first time that the Marchesa has been present. You were so very kind and affectionate to me. . . .'

In the course of time little differences arose between him and Mariannina, for Ludwig had a feeling that she no longer loved him and that everything was done in self-interest. One day the King's Physician, Dr. Von Wenzel, came to examine her and declared that an immediate salt water cure was essential, whereupon the Marchesa said: 'Then must I leave here very soon? I do not wish to decide, I will leave it to the King.' Ludwig wrote to his wife: 'I bade my personal feelings be silent and determined upon an early departure.'³ 'How hard it is to leave the dearest being upon earth,' the Marchesa wrote to him before leaving, but Ludwig had the feeling that she was not quite sincere. Yet in spite of everything he still cared for her:

'Love will never come at our commanding,
And in the heart of her I love the flame
Burns low, nor heeds my heart's demanding.
My love but grew as she more cold became,
And burning, restless still, her love I claim.'⁴

¹ Henry Howard to Palmerston, Munich, 9th July, 1831. Record Office, London.

² Ludwig I to Therese, Munich, 15th July, 1831. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Therese, Munich, 19th July, 1831. Munich H.A.

⁴ Sonnet, *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 87.

On 3rd August the Marchese and his wife returned to Italy. Ludwig's disappointment drove him to find solace in his marriage, in the love of the noble and good woman, the mother of his children who, in spite of everything, held the chief place in his heart. A new poem was to prove this to the Queen.

'With longing heart my arms stretch out to thee
Belovèd wife, burning to hold
Your lips on mine in bliss untold
And know that none can take you more from me.'¹

The Marchesa too felt drawn towards her husband. 'Ettore is so gentle and so affectionate to me that I grow to love him more and more.'² The visit therefore resulted in both parties returning to the bosom of their families. But Ludwig had been at one time too infatuated and enslaved by Marinina:

'I cannot leave her and will not renounce,
And only Death can divide what was joined in Life.'³

The King had, in the meantime, realized that Metternich had driven him too far and that he had that Statesman to thank for all his troubles with the *Landtag*. The Chancellor soon heard from Wrede and others of the King's re-awakened distrust of him and immediately declared that 'the rancour and animosity is the outcome of His Majesty's truly sick mental state'.⁴

Nothing was further from the truth. Ludwig had no trace of mental sickness. Shortly before this he had written to his wife: 'I am just entering my forty-sixth year, only a few years before I reach half a century; in spite of that I still at times consider myself a young man.'⁵

At this time Munich was threatened with cholera. The King was advised to go to Lake Tegern, but he said: 'If we are to be afflicted by this disease I intend to stay with my loyal people in Munich. I have a certain preventive against the disease—my cheerfulness, which invigorates me, and my ordered and moderate habits of life.'⁶ Ludwig, however, sent his son on his long-desired journey to Italy, so that he should escape cholera. Max immediately paid a visit to the Florenzi family in Perugia. 'He is

¹ Sonnet, '*An meine Therese*,' Berchtesgaden, 21st August, 1831. Munich H.A.

² Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Perugia, 30th September, 1831. Munich H.A.

³ *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 106.

⁴ Metternich to *Freiherr* von Spiegel, Vienna, 9th November, 1831. Vienna St.A.

⁵ Ludwig I to Therese, Berchtesgaden, 4th September, 1831. Munich H.A.

⁶ Ludwig I to Empress Karoline Auguste, Munich, 4th November, 1831. Munich H.A.

just as enchanted with Italy as you always are,' wrote Mariannina.¹

The political measures adopted during the subsequent period—increase of censorship, limitation of the right to study at the university, proceedings against professors with too liberal views, etc.—led Metternich to the belief that he had the King well in hand. But he forgot that Ludwig, whom the French Minister termed 'obstinate and suspicious' but whose intelligence and culture he did not dispute,² jealously preserved his personal independence and royal dignity.

The Austrian Chancellor endeavoured, through Wrede, to force the King to come more closely into line with him. Although the Field-Marshal favoured Metternich's ideas, he had nevertheless to call a halt: 'The King's old distrust (the curse of all deaf people) is again awakening. He reproaches me with reposing too great confidence in you. However much I might wish the King to be different in various ways, I must do him the justice of saying that he is a man of his word, that he is a true German, as few are, and his dealings are disinterested and without ulterior intentions. But that accounts for his irritability and suspicion when he believes that his confidence is not reciprocated.... He is often in an abnormal, even feverish condition. Violence, obstinacy, distrust, avarice will still make their appearance, but his government, even if not entirely satisfactory, will be far better than in the past.'³

At the beginning of the new year the 'longest and worst *Landtag*' came to an end. Outwardly Ludwig would not admit that anything had happened to prejudice his power. 'No right of the Crown was relinquished and the monarchist principle was applied.'⁴ The slight which had been offered to the King at the *Landtag*, after the people had placed him on a pinnacle during the first years of his reign, rankled in Ludwig's mind. But he was determined not to be influenced by the love or hatred of the masses:

'I sing of favour, praise and adulation
Heaped on us once—but now become damnation.
Who trusts in favour spells his own frustration
For seas of malice, spite and condemnation
Sweep over him—and all is desolation.'⁵

¹ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Perugia, 17th December, 1831. Munich H.A.

² Baron Mortier to Casimir Périer, Munich, 20th February, 1832. Chroust, III, 21.

³ Bibl, *Metternich*, pp. 260 and 273.

⁴ Ludwig I to Karoline Auguste, Munich, 19th January, 1832. Munich H.A.

⁵ *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 61.

The fiery enthusiasm of Ludwig's early days was already completely burnt out:

'Calmly I see everything come and calmly I see it go.'¹

But occasionally the King's cheerful nature won the day.

'Upon the dark night follows the bright to-morrow.'²

Ludwig's fiery nature sought relaxation from all these troubles and unpleasantnesses in the society of beautiful women. It could not be otherwise. For him the acme of life was an irresistible desire to be loved by women.³ His love for Mariannina still existed, but it had begun to wane. The King admired German women for their womanliness, but he missed 'the southern ardour and the fire in their eyes'.⁴ And without passion he could not live:

'Only in the proximity of the beloved can we savour happiness.'

The delights and disappointments forced him to exclaim:

'Happy the man who Love's dart doth not know,
Whose heart with tender passion doth not glow.
Though never wafted to celestial spheres
He is not cast into a sea of fears.'⁵

His envy of people who do not love disappeared, however, in a flash when the King beheld a new and enchanting feminine face:

'Joyfully wakens the heralded morning,
Rapturously dawns Love's bright sun anew . . . ,
Who cares for treasure, or fame, or renown,
What's the possession of Earth's greatest crown,
Compared with a woman who's loving and true?'⁶

Although Ludwig strove to be independent of others, to keep his will and power within bounds, yet, confronted with lovely eyes and an enchanting figure, all desire for independence disappeared. There was an unceasing struggle between his senses and the narrowing confines of conscience, and during these struggles the King knew no peace:

'To heights of virtue will the soul attain,
In Sin's dark valley will the flesh remain,
Each to the other bound in ceaseless strife.'⁷

¹ 'Mein Inneres im Anfang des Jahres 1832.' *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 20.

² 'An . . . meine gedruckten Gedichte gebend.' *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 42.

³ Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, III, 135.

⁴ Sonnet, 'Die Augen der deutschen Frauen.' *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 24.

⁵ IX. Chor. *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 52.

⁶ XI. Chor. *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 56.

⁷ 'Zur Beherzigung.' *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 76.

Again and again Ludwig was drawn to that room in the palace where he had accumulated the steadily increasing number of Stieler's portraits of beautiful women. Since the year 1827 no less than twelve portraits had been added, of which, up to this time, his favourite had been Stieler's picture of Mariannina, which was replaced by a second one in 1831. The daughter of a Munich bookseller, who had enchanted the King and called forth several poems, was also to be seen there. She loved an assistant game-keeper, and the King, with some bitterness, helped this romance to attain fulfilment. He presented 'the most beautiful woman in his kingdom' with a religious book by Sailer. Another picture was of the daughter of the cashier in a pawnshop, who was always chaperoned to the sitting in Stieler's studio. There the King was able to see her, but visits to the house of her parents only caused embarrassment. A portrait of Charlotte von Hagn also adorned the room—that celebrated actress whose slender figure and classic profile had so delighted the King. He conceived a real affection for her. He was a constant visitor at her house and thereby often placed the beautiful actress in an awkward dilemma. Ludwig was forced to realize that his affections were not always returned. At the age of forty-six, he told himself bitterly in a poem:

'To love ever
Be thy endeavour,
For never more wilt thou be loved.'¹

But he did not honestly mean this; he did not believe the last words, which were but the sentiment of a passing moment. Enchanted he wandered again through the *Schönheitgalerie*, and admiringly he regarded the charming picture of a poultry dealer's daughter, the demure Anna Hillmeyer, who was portrayed with a prayer book in her hand, and also the picture of the 'most beautiful Jewess of Munich', who afterwards married a member of Heine's family.

The King's wish to have a portrait of Amalia von Schintling, the daughter of an officer of very good family, for his *Schönheitsgalerie*, led to a domestic drama. Stieler had drawn the King's attention to her, but the Monarch's suggestion raised a storm in her family. She was engaged to a cousin, Fritz von Schintling, who could not marry her on account of his poverty, but who was very jealous. The father gave his consent to the portrait but not

¹ '*An sich*' ('To himself'). *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 66.



IANTHE, LADY ELLENBOROUGH.

Portrait by J. K. Stieler.

without informing his wife that she must always be present at the sittings in the Palace. Cousin Fritz became furious when he heard the news.¹ He learned that in his collection of beautiful women the King had included some ladies of loose morals and he feared that his affianced wife would be numbered among them. A violent scene followed. The father did not wish to give offence to the King and it was arranged that Amalia's portrait should be painted but that her less beautiful mother should always be present. But Cousin Fritz decided to hasten on the wedding, even without money. For that purpose he had to send in a request to the King. That was the bitterest moment of his life. Stieler relieved him of the matter and petitioned the King in his stead. These scenes with her fiancé, however, had considerably harmed the consumptive girl. When the King's permission for her marriage arrived, it made no more impression upon Amalia von Schintling; her condition was hopeless and two days before Christmas the end came. Deeply affected, Ludwig heard the news that such a charming exquisite creature had been so suddenly cut off from life.

Of all the women who, up to that time, adorned the *Schönheits-galerie*, a certain Lady Jane Ellenborough had been the one who, with the exception of Mariannina, had most captivated the King. She was an Englishwoman of aristocratic family, and although she was only twenty-five already had rather an adventurous life behind her. Her father, an admiral, had married her off without much ado, to an old English politician, Lord Ellenborough, who was a good match in every respect, but not likely to hold the affections of an unusually beautiful and charming young woman for very long. Lady Jane had pale golden hair, deep-set dark blue eyes with long, well-arched eyebrows and an exquisite peach-like complexion which betrayed her perfect health and freshness. Added to this, she had a marvellous figure, the sight of which caused the heart of every man to beat faster. With all this she had an almost unfeminine craving for adventure, a spirit which inevitably came into conflict with the quiet political ambitions of her husband. After four years of marriage, during which time a son was born, they went their separate ways. Soon other men entered Lady Jane's life, for wherever she went she enchanted and captivated, nay, bewitched the men. A colonel made violent love

¹ Manuscript of the history of the House of Schintling, recorded by Karl von Schintling, Regensburg, in the year 1833, 3rd part. From the archives of Lieut.-Colonel Karl von Schintling at Staudach in the Chiemgau.

to her. Then she met the young Prince Felix von Schwarzenberg, the Secretary at the Austrian Legation, of whom it was said in London that he captivated women just as Lady Jane Ellenborough enslaved men, and that none could resist him.¹ She fell hopelessly in love with the elegant cavalier. Jane was not particularly clever but irrepressibly frank and made no secret of her love, which she would have been glad to proclaim from the housetops. The whole of London talked of this liaison. That year the chestnut 'Cadland' won the Derby, against the King's horse, 'The Colonel.' Immediately Prince Felix von Schwarzenberg was given his nickname 'Cadland' because he had supplanted the Colonel in Lady Jane's affections. A year later Lord Ellenborough obtained a divorce, and Jane went to Paris with Schwarzenberg. She hoped he would marry her. His family, however, his career, everything, were at stake and furthermore he knew that this woman would never be faithful to him, just as he himself was incapable of fidelity. So this love affair brought disappointment for both.

Jane was soon attracted by others. In Paris she met Honoré de Balzac, then thirty years of age and becoming famous. In his novel, *Le lys dans la vallée*, his description of Arabella Dudley was that of Jane as he saw her. 'This charming slender woman, apparently so fragile, composed as it were of milk and roses, with her captivating beauty, this being whose radiancy seemed phosphorescent and transient, has nevertheless an iron constitution . . . no man can equal her on horseback . . . her passion is quite primitive . . . her avidity like the whirlwind of the desert whose burning eternity is painted in her eyes. . . .' But now, after a short interlude with Balzac, Lady Jane—no one knew just how—drifted to Munich. As soon as she appeared all the evil tongues in society were loosened. They whispered and gossiped about this woman's tempestuous life but, nevertheless, adequate tribute was paid to her marvellous beauty. She was rich and independent, divorced, it was true, but of good family and therefore she was received in society. The King soon heard of her. He saw her, and his inflammable heart was at once on fire. Wherever Jane appeared the King was to be found. Before long he had her painted for his *Schönheits-galerie*. For this picture Stieler required a remarkable number of sittings at which Ludwig was always present—he could scarcely tear himself away from the picture, far less from the original. He felt

¹ See E. M. Oddie's most interesting book, *Portrait of Ianthe*, being a study of Jane Digby Lady Ellenborough, London, 1935, pp. 59 and 61.

something akin to him in this woman. Although she had had so many lovers, it could not be said that she was profligate or abandoned. For her too, the lover of the moment was the ideal man, the beloved who at that moment was the most perfect, most beautiful person on earth and alone worthy of attainment. But she did not only wish to love and be loved, she wished to be the wife of him whom she adored. Manly beauty was as much a fetish to her as womanly beauty to Ludwig. In appearance he certainly could not be called ideal, but Jane was moved by the passionate asseveration of his love, the poems and letters which came to her as to so many before her.

Amongst her admirers there was soon an honourable, upright man belonging to an excellent and very old Bavarian aristocratic family, Baron Karl von Venningen-Ulner, who, like Ludwig, had been completely carried away by her beauty. He too was always to be seen in her train. But Jane and the King were still busy with their love-affair. She pandered to his enthusiasm for everything Greek; it enchanted him when she called him 'my βασιλεύς (King)'. At that time the King's enthusiasm for Greece was at its height, for there seemed every prospect that his second son Otto would be made King of that country. Ludwig therefore, imitating Byron, turned the name Jane into 'Ianthé', which clung to her all her life. Mariannina receded somewhat into the background. The King's heart was otherwise engaged, although in spite of his new infatuation he remained attached to her. It gave him fresh pleasure, even when she wrote for the thousandth time: '*T'amo e t'amerò fino al di là.*'¹ That sort of thing is always pleasant to hear even if the words cannot be taken too literally.

About this time a letter was received from the secretary, von Müller, announcing the sad news of the death of Goethe on the 22nd March, 1832, 'the poet and wise man' whom the King had esteemed so highly and whom he had often made happy by his 'graciousness and sympathy'. 'At half past eleven yesterday morning our Goethe died, peacefully and without pain.'² He had catarrhal fever for six days only . . . and did not suspect any danger, was mentally alert and kindly to the end. Only for one hour was he unconscious, rambled wildly in his sleep, then gradually his breathing stopped and there was no death struggle.' King Ludwig was deeply moved. More than others he felt the

¹ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Perugia, 17th December, 1831. Munich H.A.

² Friedrich von Müller to Ludwig I, Weimar, 23rd March, 1832. Munich H.A.

enormous loss not only to the German nation but to the world in general.

Now that the *Landtag* had been dissolved, the political storms of the years 1830 and 1831 appeared to calm down. The King wished to relax. He was hurt that Lady Ellenborough, like so many other beauties, accepted the attentions of others. His longing for Italy returned, that magic land where love and art had so often made for him a heaven upon earth. He wished to take the baths at Ischia, and inquired if Mariannina would go there too. But she, who had heard many rumours from Munich, declined¹: 'My health forbids it and besides I fear to bore you, for you no longer feel the same pleasure in my society as you did when your affection was so great. I fear that I no longer possess your love exclusively.' On 4th April the King left for Italy. On his way through Perugia he visited the Florenzi family: 'I have never found the Marchese and his wife on better terms.'² Ludwig did not stay with them long, but went on to Naples and Ischia after a short visit.

The beautiful Lady Ellenborough, who had remained in Munich, was, however, a little jealous, and in Perugia the King received a note from her: 'I merely wished to show you you are still loved and are never to be forgotten by your Ianthe, who will always be the same to you. You are now at Perugia. Do not forget me!'³ Ludwig reassured her somewhat, but Mariannina's proximity had rather dimmed the picture of the beautiful, faithless Lady Ellenborough. The King assured the Marchesa afresh that he loved her with the love of former days, and this filled Mariannina with great joy.

During his leisure at Ischia Ludwig was busy with a new draft of his will. Ample provision was made for Karoline Auguste, Empress of Austria, 'who loves me most of all my brothers and sisters.' 'The Villa Giardino di Malta I give to my son Luitpold,' it was written, 'who, up to the present, has given me nothing but pleasure, but, as long as she lives, the Marchesa Florenzi, who has had a beneficent influence on my life, is to enjoy the fruits thereof.'⁴ Mariannina was not forgotten, but Ludwig also wrote to the beautiful Englishwoman from whom in reality he had fled. Ianthe had been 'much pleased' to receive a letter from Perugia and to learn that 'the sight of

¹ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, 6th March, 1832. No. 534. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Therese, Innsbruck, 5th April, and Perugia, 11th April, 1832. Munich H.A.

³ Lady Ellenborough to Ludwig I, Munich, 12th April (1832).

⁴ Draft of Will, Ischia, 4th May, 1832. Munich H.A.

another had not lessened' Ludwig's attachment.¹ That touched Ludwig, who was susceptible to every expression of personal affection and love, particularly from the fair sex. He wrote a cordial letter in reply which was answered in similar terms by Ianthe. 'I love to hear the nice affectionate "thou"'. For ever and ever and always. *Deine Alte*.²

Mariannina meanwhile received a letter from Munich giving a detailed account of the King's relations with the beautiful English-woman. She was beside herself with rage. As on previous occasions it was Ghita who had to write to Ludwig in this delicate matter: 'How is it possible that this beautiful Lady Ellenborough, whose scandalous history is known to all, could deceive and ensnare your Majesty. . . . All this fills Mariannina with sorrow and shame, she fears it will be assumed that she is in the same category as this Lady. . . . I have never seen her in such a fury.'³ But many mountains and forests lay between these two women, and nothing much could happen even if they were jealous of each other. Ghita also described the precarious financial situation of the Florenzi family and the necessity of saving them from 'complete ruin'; 'Your Majesty must speak, act and write until at least something has been achieved.'⁴

In spite of the beauties of nature, Ludwig felt lonely and deserted at Ischia and became sad and melancholy.⁵ To be regarded only as a King, from whom something could be obtained, was not enough. He wished to be active, to associate with people, and seek distraction:

'My being cannot tolerate repose,
Varied companionship I need of those
Who do excite my mood.'⁶

Then one fine day he met a charming woman, Louise von H., a pretty widow with a delightful daughter and a sister-in-law, Charlotte von L. Mutual sympathy was at once established. Frau von L. confided all her troubles to the King, who immediately informed his wife of the new acquaintance.⁷ 'There is a remarkable affinity between these women and myself. But the daughter would

¹ Lady Ellenborough to Ludwig I, Munich, 25th April, 1832. Munich H.A.

² Lady Ellenborough to Ludwig I, Munich, 5th May and 14th May, 1832. Munich H.A.

³ Ghita V. to Ludwig I, 12th May, 1832. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ghita V. to Ludwig I, Perugia, 24th May, 1832. Munich H.A.

⁵ 'An . . . und . . . ' *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 33.

⁶ 'Ich.' *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 158.

⁷ Ludwig I to Therese, Panella, 13th May, 1832. Munich H.A.

please you better, you who lay such stress on womanly virtue, of which you yourself are a model. . . . Our two German compatriots will accompany me to Capri, Amalfi and Paestum, but do not mention this, for people will immediately discover some love affair; I can associate with no one, at least not in Munich, without this being imputed to me.'

In Panella the news reached Ludwig that the Powers, in the London Agreement of 7th May, 1832, had recognized his second son, now aged seventeen, as King of Greece. Otto himself had considerable misgivings. He realized that he had been given a 'truly great and noble' vocation in rebuilding and bringing happiness to a nation once so famous, but he regarded the future with some anxiety. It was a proud moment, but would not this Crown in the end prove too heavy a load? Bavaria had little confidence in such a risky undertaking, which was regarded as a 'satisfaction and acknowledgment of the King's Grecomania'.

Ludwig was a long way from home and these opinions troubled him little. On 9th June he went again to Colombella to the Marchesa Florenzi. To appease his wife in regard to this second visit, he announced his intention: 'I like you much, much better, my charming Therese, in the twenty-second year of our marriage than in the first, because you are more mature; but however charming you look, it would not appeal to me in the same way were it not for your exceptional goodness, for which I love you beyond comparison, far more than at the beginning. I repeat, of all the women I know you are the only one suited to be my wife.'¹ And, happen what might, these words expressed the King's sincere inward conviction.

Alarming news now came from Bavaria, and the King hastened back, arriving in Munich on 18th June. The German people had hoped, once the arrogant conqueror had been driven out, to be rewarded by a national regeneration and liberal enactments. In all true sons of Germany the idea of German freedom and unity persisted. Although the fear of demagoguery caused them to be pursued, imprisoned, and tormented, in accordance with Metternich's views, they upheld their ideals and worked, hoped and waited in expectation of the moment when those ideals could be realized. The populace had welcomed the accession of Ludwig I of Bavaria with such enthusiasm because it knew of his warm, national attitude and his liberal views, which were in

¹ Ludwig I to Therese, Rome, 6th June, 1832. Munich H.A.

marked contrast to those of so many German Princes. But now the July Revolution in France had completely changed everything. People overlooked the fact that, in his youth, King Ludwig had seen the mad debauchery of the French Revolution, the insane Jacobin murders, the *Noyades*, the affair of the *Assignates*, the wars, the dethronement of religion, in short the annihilation of the noblest possessions of mankind—that he had suffered personally from their consequences in the Napoleonic wars. They did not realize that the King had remained loyal to his love of the German nation and the cause of German unity, and that he only wished to prevent a repetition of those horrors. They saw that the Press was muzzled, that the monasteries were re-established, that the clergy were again attaining immense power, and that the German Princes, anxious for the safety of their crowns, regarded everyone who dreamed of German unity as a revolutionary, a red assassin, who only used that ideal as a pretext for the overthrow of the established order and for anarchy, with its terrible results.

Even if the King had gone too far, the radical party in the country now exploited this fact to the utmost, particularly in the Palatinate which was separated from Bavaria and lay closer to the seething cauldron of France. Thus it came about that on 27th May, 1832, a stream of people thronged to the ruins of the Castle of Hambach, magnificently situated on the plain of the Rhine and visible from afar. Reports of the numbers present vary from thirty to sixty thousand—enormous figures in view of the difficulties of travelling without railways, and remembering that the total population of Frankfurt at that time was 45,000. On the tower of the castle flew the three-coloured banner which had served as an emblem of German unity to the '*Burschenschaften*' (German Students' Associations) since 1816, black representing the present time, red the blood shed in the struggle for a better future, while gold was the emblem of the golden age to follow. All wore badges of these colours with the inscription 'Germany's Rebirth'.

In view of the numbers present and the weakness of the forces of law and order, the speakers did not mince their words. They spoke of the oppression of the people by the Governments and Princes who—in order to be able to exploit them more thoroughly—prevented the German peoples from uniting. Obviously referring to Ludwig, one speaker cried¹: 'Pandering to pride and vanity

¹ *Der Deutsche Mai*, opening speech of the first German National Festival (27th May, 1832), in the ruined Castle of Hambach: the speaker's name was Siebenpfeiffer. Neustadt, 1832, p. 8.

we build magnificent castles, museums and art galleries. We erect pillars of fame to commemorate battles between the nations, yet nowhere on German soil is there room for a national monument to reflect the majesty of the German people, nor have the ruling Sovereigns any understanding of such an idea. But the day of victory will come when Germans from the Alps to the North Sea, from the Rhine, the Danube and the Elbe will embrace as brothers, when customs and turnpikes, class distinctions, restraints and oppression will disappear . . . when free roads and free waterways will bring about the free circulation of national strength and resources. . . . Then will arise in all its glory that for which we fight and for which to-day we lay the foundation stone—a free German Fatherland. . . .’

A thunderous burst of applause greeted these words. Another speaker followed who also placed the national idea in the forefront. As the Princes could not be persuaded to introduce a reform to unite all Germans in one Fatherland—and this reluctance was particularly evident in the case of Prussia and Austria—there was nothing for it but to abolish them: ‘Without the abolition of the German crowned heads there can be no salvation for our Fatherland. . . . Long live the United Free States of Germany!’ Tumultuous applause greeted him also, caps were thrown into the air, and the people were wild with excitement. One speaker demanded, point-blank, the dethronement of the King of Bavaria, and a chorus of many thousand voices sounded: ‘Let’s go a hunting and drive out the Princes.’¹ In spite of the pouring rain the waiting crowd vociferated unceasingly: ‘Even the best Prince is a traitor.’ It all ended in talk but the demonstration made a profound impression throughout the world.

The King, on his return from Italy, visited the grave of Bishop Sailer, who died on 20th May and whose last pastoral letter had been directed against the revolutionary efforts of the political leagues. The Hambach incident completely overwhelmed Ludwig. Did they not realize that all his efforts both in word and deed had been directed towards this very end—the unity of Germany? Did they not understand that all his thoughts and endeavours were for the welfare, happiness, and education of his people? What if it were impossible for him to live without the magic Italian sunshine and the stimulus of beautiful women! He was enthusiastically in agreement with the ideals of unity as proclaimed

¹ Veit Valentin, *Das Hambacher Nationalfest*, Berlin, 1932, p. 48.

at the old castle of Hambach. But how could this be realized if it began and ended in nothing but shouts of: 'Kings and Princes are criminals, away with them!' Ludwig was very sensitive concerning himself, and now his mode of life, his artistic efforts and his endeavours to beautify his country with noble edifices, all—all was dragged through the mud in the name of the proud and beautiful idea of Germany unity, which was also his ideal. It was a terrible thing for the King that, to counteract exaggeration, he was forced into conflict with his own ideal.

Even before Ludwig's return, troops were held in readiness for the event of possible disturbances. On 22nd June Field-Marshal Prince Wrede was sent, with extraordinary powers, to the Rhine districts at the head of practically half the Bavarian army,¹ only 8,500 men. By force of arms he was to restore order which had actually been disturbed only by words and symbols, such as 'trees of liberty' and black-red-gold flags. Everything liberal was made to pay for the extravagances at Hambach. It had been unwise to wound Ludwig of Bavaria who, as the French Chargé d'Affaires had not incorrectly remarked,² was prone to be guided by his feelings rather than by dispassionate considerations. The consequences soon made themselves felt. There was an increasing number of sentences forcing the delinquents to humble themselves before the picture of the King, and there were arrests. Nevertheless, Ludwig would not permit himself to be driven to the lengths which Metternich desired.

The King sought an outlet in poetry. His poem '*Auf und an die Deutschen im Jahre 1832*' showed the loss of that unity which had stimulated the German people in their fight against Napoleon, how they were torn into two parties, one the conservative, endeavouring to retain unity, and the other threatening death to everything which belonged to the past. He warned against revolution which menaced order and protection of property:

'Once the dam is broken
The torrent surges onwards irresistibly.'³

All these excitements diverted Ludwig's mind from what had occurred whilst he was in Italy. The attraction felt by Baron

¹ Valentin, p. 73.

² Comte de Sercey to the Duc de Broglie, Munich, 9th January, 1833. Chroust, III, 110.

³ Bad Brückenau, 26th July, 1832. *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 8.

Karl von Venningen-Ulner for the beautiful Lady Ellenborough had taken a serious turn and they were married on 10th November, 1832. The young husband, being a Catholic, had difficulties in respect of marriage with a divorced woman, but these were overcome. He was jealously anxious to take away his lovely wife from the King's proximity as quickly as possible. He took her to an estate in the country and during the next year he made it extremely difficult for Ianthe to see her βασιλεύς.

In the meantime the King had nominated a Regency, with ex-Minister Count Armansperg at its head, for his son Otto, the new King of Greece, who was not yet of age. 'I entrust my son's well-being to you,' said Ludwig. 'What I place in your hands is not only something personal but it is an interest of the Bavarian people and is of historical significance to the world.' Ludwig I had prepared an uncertain future for his son, and had truly taken a step in the dark.

With the beginning of the year 1833 the situation in Europe calmed down. There seemed to be no more question of war and the King therefore decided to visit his beloved Italy, but bad news arrived concerning the financial situation of the Florenzi family. 'I am most unpleasantly surprised,' wrote Ludwig in reply. 'I hardly expected this after all that has been done for my darling Mariannina.'¹ The Marchesa, however, wrote unceasingly to Ludwig and looked forward to his impending visit. 'Every day that passes brings my happiness nearer. I think and dream of you.'² The letters often closed with the words: 'In life and death, Your Mariannina.'³

In June the King arrived at Colombella, where he found the old life unchanged. In the summer he went, as usual, to his favourite Bad Brückenau. There he learned that both England and France were attempting to obtain influence over the young King of Greece, who had not yet taken over the reins of government. 'I heard the King of France had been negotiating with the Regency to marry you to one of his daughters,' Ludwig wrote to Otto. 'You are too good a son to carry on marriage negotiations behind your father's back. This would be wicked, really wicked on the part of the Regency, but yet possible . . . on your part it is impossible. I know you dislike the French and I am very glad of it. I am most

¹ Ludwig I to Ghita V., Munich, 22nd February, 1833. Munich H.A.

² Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Perugia, 22nd May, 1833. Munich H.A.

³ Marchesa Florenzi to Ludwig I, Colombella, 28th May, 1833. Munich H.A.

decidedly opposed to such a marriage.¹ . . . Do not trust the French, do not be a party to their State system. . . .'²

During this time Mariannina wrote most affectionate letters. Ludwig had only been away two months when she wrote that it seemed a century to her since his departure. 'You were quite right. Time knits our souls more closely together and strengthens our fond intimacy.' Then one day she forwarded to him a copy of a malicious anonymous letter, ridiculing Mariannina's husband in connection with the King's last visit. When the letter arrived the Marchese had been ill in bed with fever, and became terribly agitated. At the beginning of December he had a severe attack of peritonitis. He had no fewer than nine doctors, but their efforts were in vain, and Mariannina became a widow. The Marchesa's letters at this time proved to Ludwig how much, in spite of everything, she had loved her husband: 'Oh, my Ettore is no more. It seems impossible to me. This grief will be for ever. I shall always be desperate and forsaken.'³ The King sent his warmest condolences and a poem entitled 'The Widow's Plaint'.

In the world of politics Metternich's attempts to influence the King of Bavaria to reactionary measures were increasing—and to this end he sent Prince von Schönburg to him. At that moment the King happened to be in Nuremberg, where he was received with enthusiastic demonstrations and he was delighted that Schönburg should witness them: 'Judge for yourself,' he said, 'how everything is settling down and how the feeling everywhere in my domains on this side of the Rhine has improved. The masses are still well-behaved and the army reliable; therefore I say: There are none like our Germans! . . . When shall we be able to build a strong dam against France, that slough of revolution? My hatred of that nation no longer knows any bounds. . . .' Schönburg was not able to obtain a definite promise such as Metternich desired, for the King's distrust of the Austrian Chancellor—hate would be too strong a word—remained alive.

At the end of December the King returned home to celebrate the wedding of his daughter Mathilde, a 'cheerful bride', with the Hereditary Grand Duke of Hesse. During the festivities, at which many German Princes were present, there was much discussion concerning the Customs Union which was to come into force on

¹ Ludwig I to King Otto, Brückenau, 27th July, 1833. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to King Otto, Brückenau, 22nd August, 1833. Munich H.A.

³ Letters from the Marchesa Florenzi, Nos. 630-7, written from Colombella between 10th September and 16th October, 1832. Munich H.A.

1st January, 1834. By this, an area with close on 28,000,000 inhabitants was to be united, at least in an economic sense. 'The conclusion of our Customs Union was one of my dearest wishes,' the King wrote to the Crown Prince of Prussia.¹ 'I expect the most important results from it and not only from an economic point of view: it will bring Teutons closer together and bind them to their common Fatherland.' Metternich was little pleased. The Chancellor realized that the fusion of the various customs unions was necessarily bound up with the growth of Prussia's political power,² which he was anxious to counteract. In this, as in other questions, Ludwig was able to withdraw himself from the Chancellor's influence. In order, on the other hand, to create an agreeable impression, Ludwig wrote to him: 'I am pleased at this result, but I shall on no account go to sleep: I shall be keenly on guard in view of the far-reaching conspiracies against the established order of things all over Europe.'³

The Austrian Chancellor replied in a very complacent letter: 'Yes, the real suffering is due to the awful state of the present generation . . . but liberalism is now at its last gasp. . . . If only there were no France and no England! The first of these countries will dissolve into a stinking dung heap and the second will go up in flames. I can confide these admissions to a King but otherwise keep them to myself alone, out of sight of the world. . . .' At the same time Metternich assured Ludwig of his goodwill towards the new Kingdom of Greece.

Reassured both from within and without, Ludwig considered visiting his beloved Italy again. He had wanted to go in the spring but suspected that young Gasperino was with the Marchesa. The King had written to Ghita: 'As long as there is a young man in the house of Mariannina (whom I love too much for my peace of mind) I do not intend to set foot inside it. It is really most improper that such a beautiful young widow should have a young man staying with her. Apart from the pain it would cause me, it would make me ridiculous in the eyes of my suite.'⁴ Now, however, Ludwig heard that Gasperino was no longer there and numerous comforting, loving letters arrived. The number of letters written by the King had already reached over a thousand, while

¹ Ludwig I to Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, Bad Brückenau, 14th August, 1833. Brandenburg-Prussian House Archives.

² Sepp, p. 145.

³ Ludwig I to Metternich, Aschaffenburg, 24th August, 1834. Vienna St.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to Ghita V., 25th March (1834). Draft. Munich H.A.

Mariannina's numbered nearly seven hundred. Ludwig had been unjust to her; she was still mourning her husband and was looking forward to the King's visit because he would help to banish her melancholy. Gasperino had long since ceased to interest her.

Ludwig started on his journey at the end of September. This time his destination was Ascagnano, another property belonging to the Florenzi family not far distant from Colombella. Mariannina was not as gay as formerly and often burst into tears at the mention of her late husband. But Ludwig found her tender and more gentle, possibly because 'she no longer heard the peevish tone which her husband, much as he loved her', often used towards her.¹ There were expeditions to break the monotony of the visit to the country, but before long, on 14th October, Ludwig was again in the whirl of life in Rome. He was enormously stimulated: 'I only feel well in the midst of joyous vivacity,' he wrote to the Queen.² 'Knowing you, I could almost wager that, after that remark, you will say I am in love—but I am not in love, and I am glad of it.' Glad of it? No, that was not true. An elegy written at this time gave it the lie. It was wonderful in Rome with the sun, the blue sky, the magnificent churches, palaces, and ruins, the delightful combination of nature and art; but what was the use of all that when there was no beloved person near to share these beauties? Ludwig only enjoyed beauty in its relation to some loved one; it had otherwise, as now, no significance and no value.

'Surely the soul is lacking; Love, I miss you in Rome
Where once you enraptured me, making it Heaven on Earth;
Only in memories still live the glory of Rome and my joy.'³

In November the King returned to Munich. He had completely recovered and was in good spirits, but his heart was fancy-free and therefore more vulnerable to temptation than usual. A lovely and gifted actress, Constanze D., delighted the Munich audiences and soon also delighted the King. The Queen was troubled but had to look on, knowing from experience that nothing could be done.

Therese was very anxious to marry her son Max to one of the daughters of Czar Nicholas I. Ludwig, in view of the constant disagreements between himself and the Crown Prince, did not

¹ Ludwig I to Therese, Ascagnano, 5th October, 1834. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Therese, Rome, 14th October, 1834. Munich H.A.

³ *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 164.

wish to interfere. 'Regarding a certain matter,' he wrote to his son on one occasion,¹ 'this letter is not meant to persuade or dissuade you; your life's happiness means too much to me.' Ludwig expected soon to have a grandchild from his only married child, Mathilde of Hesse, but he remarked: 'In my person I do not feel like a grandfather but, although my mirror tells me the contrary, I still consider myself a young man.'²

Beautiful Ianthé was far away; she, the elegant, travelled cosmopolitan, felt herself an exile in her lonely country home. Ludwig was pleased when she wrote that her thoughts and desires turned constantly to Munich and culminated in one person. 'Oh! my best beloved friend, if there exists a sentiment which can be intermediate between exalted affection and a yet tenderer feeling, that is exactly what you have inspired me with. . . . All my ambition in this world is to have one day an establishment at Munich. . . .'³

During this time, Max, the Crown Prince, was in Vienna to inspect the marriageable Austrian Archduchesses. Ludwig had warned him to be careful in Vienna. 'Remember that nowhere in the world have the walls better ears than there.'⁴ The Heir to the Throne naturally received a warm welcome from his aunt, the Empress, and festivities were held in his honour, until a sudden serious illness of the Emperor Francis I put an end to them. On 25th February, 1835, the Emperor of Austria was taken ill with pneumonia. During the following days his condition grew so much worse that he felt constrained to set his affairs in order. Metternich had already taken precautions. The will was ready for signature and was handed to the Emperor by his father confessor. Cleverly the Chancellor had been able to insert the clause⁵: 'Transfer to, most loyal servant and friend, the confidence that he had enjoyed for so many years. Make no decisions in public affairs or regarding persons, without consulting him.'

The father confessor would see to it that Metternich's name would be inserted in the blank space and thus—as Crown Prince Ferdinand was impotent, and as no well-wisher of the House of Habsburg should have permitted his succession—the continued

¹ Ludwig I to Crown Prince Max, 12th October, 1834. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to the Grand Duchess Mathilde, Munich, 1st January, 1835. Munich H.A.

³ Ianthé Venningen to Ludwig I, Weinheim, 29th January and 15th March, 1835. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to Crown Prince Max, Bad Brückenau, 19th July, 1834. Munich H.A.

⁵ Bibl, *Zerfall Oesterreichs*, I, 385.

rule of the Minister was further secured. On 2nd March the Emperor succumbed to his illness. Karoline Auguste was in despair. Even when Extreme Unction was given she still hoped for a miracle. Now her activities in the monarchy, which for eighteen years had called her 'mother', were finished. King Ludwig realized quite clearly that the death of his brother-in-law was 'in every respect an irreparable loss for him',¹ although he received a letter from Metternich with the assurance that 'everything that had been would continue unchanged'.² By that the Chancellor meant himself and his rule, and according to the will of the Emperor he could assert this with confidence.

In the meantime, in spite of the criticisms of Diet and populace, the King had continued his building in Munich, chiefly through personal financial sacrifice. Along the Avenue of State arose one building after another, and on 25th August the foundation stone of the new university was laid.

The King's silver wedding-day approached. For seventeen years he had spent the summer with the Queen at Bad Brückenau. But, in addition to his visits to Italy, Ludwig had often felt the need of a holiday without his wife. It never occurred to him that his wife would feel hurt if he requested his friend Tann to ask her not to accompany him to Brückenau—this year of all years—and to suggest that she should make the proposal. The Queen felt this very deeply but postponed discussion in order not to spoil the celebrations. The King saw that his wife, who at that time also suffered with her eyes, grew more and more sad, and he did not give in until he had wrung from her the secret that she attributed everything to the actress D. This led to an unpleasant but not too violent scene because, in verbal discussions, the Queen was too fearful of Ludwig's 'Wittelsbach vivacity'.³

It was with mixed feelings that the Queen, on 12th October, 1835, the twenty-fifth anniversary of her wedding, received Ludwig's poem entitled: 'To Therese on the Anniversary of our Silver Wedding'. The poem ran:

'My love for you with years new strength doth gain,
More charming thou dost now appear to me.
How often I, my Love, have giv'n thee pain,
Yet had no other gladly wooed but thee.'⁴

¹ Ludwig I to Heinrich von der Tann, Munich, 13th March, 1835. Archives of the Tann family.

² Metternich to Ludwig I, Vienna, 19th March, 1835. Munich H.A.

³ Therese to Ludwig I, 21st February, 1836. Munich H.A.

⁴ *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 265.

All districts of the kingdom sent deputations of congratulation and the festivities lasted ten days. The foundation-stone of the St. Boniface Basilica, in the vault of which Ludwig and his wife were to be buried, was laid. But there was no harmony in the royal family. Ludwig had insisted upon the removal of the Crown Prince's private secretary, to whom he attributed a bad influence over his son. This, and the King's plan to travel again and leave the kingdom in the hands of Prince Wrede, annoyed the Crown Prince, who considered that at twenty-four he was old enough to represent his father. This time the King intended to stay away for a long period. The news from Greece was so bad and the position of the young King so difficult, that Ludwig decided to go and look into matters himself. A Regency consisting of several persons is always a dangerous experiment, and Otto lacked strength and energy, diligence and consistency. It was not surprising that the people called for a Constitution which alone could improve matters—views which were encouraged by liberal England and France. Ludwig now wanted to see if he could help.

At the end of November the King started on his journey to Greece. His way lay through Italy and he did not fail to go to Colombella to see how his friend was faring. Ghita had hinted that Mariannina was thinking of marrying again; both Marchese Strozzi and a foreigner were paying her court. The King wished to ascertain whether there was any truth in this, but realized during his short visit that matters had not yet reached this point. The journey was then continued to Ancona and Corfu and thence direct to Athens.

As the sun was rising behind the Parthenon the King's ship sailed into the harbour of Piraeus, and shortly after father and son greeted each other warmly. There was a magnificent procession that evening. All the old classical monuments were illuminated as though by magic and bonfires flamed on the surrounding hills. Otto was anxious for advice. Although he had become a King, he retained a childlike submission to his father, whom he regarded as his best friend. Ludwig found Otto, in this respect, a pleasant contrast to his elder brother, the Crown Prince, 'this "Matz", as his brothers and sisters call him, who knows everything better than we do.'¹

The King of Bavaria soon realized that those who had summoned him so urgently were right, for in spite of the best

¹ Ludwig I to Therese, Athens, 17th December, 1835. Munich H.A.



LUDWIG I WITH HIS FAMILY.

From a lithograph by J. Melcher.

intentions Otto was utterly incapable of making decisions. His father spoke to him very seriously, told him he ought to think about getting married and also that he must erect a 'decent building' as his palace. In his present one there would be no room for a queen. The young King declared: 'I would quite like to get married, but the fact that I am forced to does not please me.'¹ But he gave in, a journey was planned, and during Ludwig's visit the foundation-stone of the palace was laid. Some considerable difficulty was experienced in dissuading Otto from building his palace on the Acropolis.

The King of Bavaria studied conditions very carefully. For the first time doubts assailed him whether his son's kingdom, which he had created in his enthusiasm for Greece, would endure. With his Thucydides in his hand, he wandered through the town and its surroundings. Ludwig felt happy and was popular everywhere, for it was appreciated that he had shown much sympathy and had given active help to the country and its people. The King left his son's court, where he had 'made a clean sweep', on the whole well satisfied but, in view of his son's youth and shortcomings, apprehensive regarding further developments.

Shortly before his departure, he received a letter from the Queen which moved him profoundly: 'I am aware of your wish that your letters to me shall be preserved,' Therese wrote.² 'As they often contain references . . . and complaints that I am at times cold or at least not affectionate, I desire that the reasons—(the cause, that my behaviour . . . is often the outcome of an inward struggle) . . . should not be buried with me. But to proceed to the matter in hand. For more than seventeen years we visited Brückenau together, and our intimate life . . . there was a source of joy to me. . . . Imagine, therefore—for you are a just man—my perplexity when soon after my return (you were as loving and affectionate to me as you had been when I left you) Tann informed me that I should no longer accompany you to Brückenau . . . that I should meet you in this matter. I stood transfixed . . . never had I permitted myself to have the least suspicions regarding your visits to Italy every year or every two years; on the contrary, I was glad for your sake that you should have this diversion, my Ludwig, recognizing that it was highly

¹ Ludwig I to Therese, Athens, 15th March, 1836. Munich H.A.

² Therese to Ludwig I, Munich, 21st February, 1836. Munich H.A.

necessary for you after the almost overwhelming burden of your work. But to be together in Bavaria and pass these five to six weeks every year separated from each other—in this matter I cannot see that it is my duty to meet your wishes. . . . I spent one day—a day that can never return, the day of our silver wedding, in great unhappiness. . . . And now . . . one word more regarding the visit of Madame D. . . . let it be set down in these lines that although I have noticed with joy that for two years you have renounced a liaison of any kind, and that through no word, nor complaint from me—I, knowing your vivid imagination so well, for my own sake, remained on the *qui vive* in order, if necessary, to be able to take up immediately the position dictated by common sense. Many years passed for us in this manner and if a cloud came between us occasionally, it soon disappeared in confidence and love. Only one wish remained with me from my former experiences (indeed it had come to be my daily prayer) that you would not seek the diversion indispensable to you in intercourse with an actress. When therefore your new liaison, entered into without even (I feel certain) any trace of love, became known to me, it was a blow and a doubly painful one for at that time I feared for weeks that I should become blind, and so I was not able to think of Madame D. without bitterness (a thing usually unknown to me). Pressed by you, I spoke in my conviction, without reserve, that I considered my happiness endangered by such a liaison which in the past had always lowered your standard; whereas if you had really been in love with a woman of a different kind (whatever her social position), for your sake and for the sake of your position I would certainly have borne it, as at other times, with serenity. . . . But now, my dear Ludwig, I promise you that I will agree with your decision whatever it may be, without complaint, and that on your return you will find me cheerful and loving. . . .’

Whilst Ludwig travelled homeward *viâ* Italy, he meditated incessantly upon this letter. During the journey he wrote daily, in the form of a diary,¹ to Mariannina. He dreamed that she was to marry again, and soon the news actually reached him that the Marchesa had become engaged to an Englishman named Evelyn Waddington. This caused him some pangs, but he decided to visit Perugia on his way home in order to make it clear to the

¹ Letters Nos. 1166 to 1170 and Nos. 1180 to 1185, from December to February, 1836, are in possession of Count Domenico Silvestri in Perugia. They are written in very bad Italian.

world that he did not feel hurt in any way and to be the bearer of his own good wishes to the young widow. Mariannina had told her fiancé that she withheld nothing from him, for he knew the innocence of her love for the King and that the feelings she had cherished for him for the past sixteen years were so deeply rooted in her heart that nothing could lessen or extinguish them. At the same time she showed him Ludwig's letters, which numbered nearly 1,200.¹

The short visit accordingly passed quietly and without any difficulties. The Marchesa even begged Ludwig to procure the Holy Father's permission for the marriage, as Waddington belonged to the Anglican Church. She knew that she was in ill repute in Rome and feared to be separated from her future husband and incarcerated in a convent. The King wrote a personal letter to the Pope, who replied that the matter was contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church.² Mariannina in consequence got married in England without the permission of the Church of Rome. When the newly married couple wished to return to the Papal domains where Mariannina's estates were situated, permission was refused them. Again Ludwig was called upon to intervene, and again the Pope refused and begged the King earnestly not to champion such a cause.³ But Ludwig was obstinate, and finally it was decided that it would be wiser not to antagonize this Catholic ruler of South Germany for such a trivial affair. Rome demanded that Waddington should renounce his church, made other conditions, and finally the couple were free to return to Mariannina's home.

On 14th April the King returned to Munich. The Queen greeted him affectionately as if nothing had happened. In his capital Ludwig was also received with acclamation. After such a long absence he was delighted to be home again, to see his beloved buildings and to indulge in his love of work. In fact everything pleased him.

In the summer Ludwig went to Brückenau, this time actually alone. The Queen did not accompany him, and he thanked her for it in very affectionate letters. In the meantime, the King of Greece had arrived in Munich to obtain his mother's help in the selection of a wife. It was not long before he found a suitable

¹ *Freiherr* von der Tann to Ludwig I. Tann, 23rd December, 1836. Munich H.A.

² The Minister in Rome to Ludwig I, Rome, 16th April, 1836. Munich H.A.

³ Pope Gregory XVI to Ludwig I, Rome, 27th October, 1836. Munich H.A.

bride in the person of Amalie von Oldenburg, and even Ludwig was satisfied with his choice.

The young Queen at once evinced her liberal tendencies and her sympathies with England. Metternich immediately started a campaign against her, and continued to press Ludwig until her confidential Mistress of the Robes was dismissed. King Otto was not the stuff of which kings should be made, and the future looked anything but hopeful.

Many important developments were now taking place in the industrial world. These included work on the Danube-Rhine Canal, the introduction of steamers on the Danube, and the making of the most important railway lines. On 17th August, 1836, King Ludwig I went, for the first time, in passenger carriage No. 8, on the train from Nuremberg to Fürth and back.

In the meantime the largest picture gallery in Europe, the old Pinakothek, had been opened. Metternich, who visited the King in July, was quite overwhelmed by it. 'The things that can now be seen in Munich—the art treasures and collections—surpass even the most vivid imagination. It is incomprehensible how anyone could conceive the idea of undertaking at one time, all that has been built and achieved by the King. . . . At this moment the Palace, the Library, the University and I know not how many more public buildings and four enormous churches, are being rebuilt. And none of these is a small undertaking, everything is on a large scale.'¹

This colourful picture was once again interrupted by an outbreak of cholera, which came from the East and struck terror into the capital at the beginning of 1837. Many well-known persons fell victims. Ludwig was advised to leave the town, but he considered it his duty to stay: 'If only this "Asiatic pestilence", this horrible scourge could be abolished for all time,' the King cried at the opening of the *Ständerversammlung* in February, 1837. The Diet was once again to depress Ludwig's usually good spirits. 'This time there is no organized opposition,' the King declared, 'but there are many who think they understand things better than I and my Ministers.' Ludwig's policy regarding the monasteries and his manner of making free use of the surplus of the State Budget for the furtherance of art and things of that nature were sharply attacked. The King felt personally insulted. He was determined that *his* will and *his* ideas should prevail. At

¹ From Metternich's papers, VI, 195.

first he had endeavoured to work with a liberal policy, then with a moderate one, and with both he had come up against difficulties which he would not tolerate. Now, however, on 25th October, Herr von Abel, a deeply religious man, almost a fanatic in Church matters and extremely conservative in politics, became Minister of the Interior. The King believed that he would be most suited to his own strict autocratic inclinations, and the clerical party hoped, in this way, to attain to complete power through Ludwig and his chief Minister.

A new epoch was beginning, the era of a man who was opposed not only by all liberal-minded persons but also by the Crown Prince and by many men closely connected with the King himself. This promised to lead to serious complications and struggles.

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT AND THE YEARNING FOR FREEDOM

1837-1846

Religious antagonisms in Germany became more acute towards the end of the eighteen-thirties. The long period of peace had so firmly established the power of the Church that the free-thinkers who had thriven in the days of revolution and war were now faced with strong opposition. The Church went so far that she overstepped her boundaries and began to assume temporal power. That led to conflicts, particularly in those States where the subjects belonged to different creeds. Even in Catholic Bavaria one-third of the population was Protestant, whereas in Prussia the exact opposite was the case.

In addition to religious tension there were soon fresh troubles in Greece. The King thought that his son Otto was being driven too far into the liberal camp by his wife and by the Western Powers. But he could not and would not interfere too much. 'I hope Amalie will have changed her opinion that I wish to rule Greece from Munich. . . . It is not likely that I, the ardent Philhellene, . . . would wish to Bavarianize Hellas. . . .'¹

In Greece as in the rest of Europe the King's path was blocked by France. Whatever she did, even now that the Bourbons were on the Throne, appeared sinister to Ludwig, and he refused to have anything to do with Bonapartist ambitions. It showed a complete misconception of Ludwig's character when Prince Louis Napoleon begged the King, as brother-in-law of Eugène Beauharnais, to allow him to settle in Munich.² This was at the beginning of 1838, after Prince Louis Napoleon had been wandering homeless through Europe and making every effort to secure the throne of France. For the first time in his life Ludwig was of one mind with Paris. At a Court Ball he drew the French Minister aside: 'I said "No" immediately, for I considered that

¹ Ludwig I's letters to Otto of Greece, dated 19th January, 12th and 23rd March, 1838. Munich H.A.

² Baron de Bourgoing to Comte Molé, Munich, 16th February, 1838. Chroust, VI, 21.

your Government would not have been pleased had this unwise young man of bad repute been shown any favour which might have brought him again to the forefront.'

The Court at Paris had not yet abandoned hopes of marrying the Crown Prince of Bavaria to one of the Princesses of Orléans. A Württemberg lady, of the House of Orléans, was prepared to promote the matter in Munich. But all in vain. 'Never,' the King declared to Prince Wrede, 'will I give my consent to it.' The King would have much preferred to see his son marry one of the daughters of Czar Nicholas. The Czar was prepared to give him his lovely daughter Olga, but the Crown Prince felt he had been slighted on a previous occasion and was no longer anxious for this marriage, although it would have been a brilliant match. He had taken a dislike to Russia and its autocratic Royal House. Olga might be as beautiful as the day, but Maximilian preferred to seek and choose for himself. His father reflected: 'In any case I am always at war with my son, and he has even taken a different line in politics. If I interfere in his marriage, he will do exactly the opposite to what I desire. I will rather await events.'

Summer had again come to the land, and Ludwig was at Brückenau with Tann. There he was able to rest from all the festivities at which he was obliged to chat to hundreds of people without really saying anything. Dreadful to have to say about a hundred times an hour: 'How do you do? What do you think of the weather?' It was wearing to the nerves. But to speak of anything worth while in public is dangerous for a King. 'My Carnival . . . is Bad Brückenau, but without the Queen; deeply as I love my wife, I need the quiet bourgeois life with my Tann. He is cheerful just as is his affectionate Ludwig.'¹ The fact that the King at this time found greater pleasure in Bad Brückenau than in his visits to Italy² was perhaps not unconnected with Ghita's latest news that Mariannina was still a beautiful woman but had lost much of her former loveliness.³

The Czar and Czarina, during a short visit to Munich, let it be known that the Grand Duchesses Marie and Olga were visiting Berlin in September and that the Crown Prince would then be expected there. Maximilian went, but the meeting between him and Olga was cool. Ludwig advised his wife, who was in favour

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 1st March, 1838. Archives of the Tann family.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 16th February, 1838. Archives of the Tann family.

³ Margherita V. to Ludwig I, Perugia, 7th September, 1838. Munich H.A.

of the Russian marriage and consequently disappointed, to keep a check upon her feelings. As a matter of fact, he thought, it would be far pleasanter if Maximilian were to marry Queen Victoria of England. He repeatedly asserted that there was no objection to this in the Bavarian State or Family Law. But he finally decided that this was his son's own affair. The King, now in his fifty-third year, felt strong and well. 'Touch wood, I am as fit as a fiddle,' he wrote to his friend.¹

No sooner were winter's social duties ended than the King wished to go to Italy again. He was interested to see Mariannina's new husband and to find out whether Mariannina herself had really lost so much of her former beauty. But he did not venture to go to Ascagnano on a visit without further ado as formerly; he wished first to discover what Waddington's attitude would be to his wife's old friendship. Waddington, on the other hand, would not accept the King's invitation for he was sensitive to the gossip that had made free of his predecessor's name. 'Evelino would not like to hear it said,' wrote Mariannina, 'that he himself had taken his wife to her lover.'²

But Ludwig would not give in, and finally it was arranged that the Waddingtons should meet the King as if by chance in Foligno half-way between Perugia and Rome. The King examined his friend with curiosity. The meeting was only a short one: the following day Ludwig was in Rome again. Full of enthusiasm, he wrote a sonnet to the town which had never been desecrated, for although Napoleon had been to Moscow and Cairo he had never reached Rome. Ludwig then went to Panella on the island of Ischia to take the baths, and there lived a quiet life. It did him good, but not for long: 'I like it for a change,' he said; 'for the rest, I delight to rule and find pleasure in my duties as King.' On his return journey he paid a short visit to the Waddingtons in Ascagnano. Ludwig regarded the couple critically. 'It is not love which unites them, but friendly affection,' remarked Ghita.³

The King compared his friend, whom the years had not left untouched, with Therese who had been his wife for nearly twenty-nine years:

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 31st October and 23rd November, 1838. Tann family archives.

² Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig, Ascagnano, 4th February, 1839. Munich H.A.

³ Ghita wrote repeatedly in this sense to Ludwig I, between 16th January and 26th March, 1840. Munich H.A.

'O, loving wife, shall I compare with thee the mother of few children, Younger perhaps, and less mature than thou, my heart's delight? Thou who dost blind me with the splendour of thy beauty, wondrous rare.

Thou art far more lovely, more delightful.

Thou art upright in life—in thee have I confident trust,
Who with thy goodness of heart bindest my soul to thine,
Picture of what is noble, paragon of womanhood,
No Throne can raise thee; it is made glorious by thy splendour.¹

The King now felt something akin to peaceful calm: the fervour of love for his Mariannina was past, but affection remained:

'Passion comes up like a storm wind and dies;
Only Love's gentle touch bindeth our lives.'²

Mariannina had not failed to notice the changed attitude of the King. 'Yes,' she said to herself, 'it is significant that I am now about to become a grandmother. What a beautiful and at the same time hateful thing—it must leave some traces.' 'It seems,' she wrote to Ludwig some time later, 'that I am now more loving than you.'³ When the King did not fulfil her requests as quickly as in former days, she complained that he had greatly changed towards her.⁴ But there she wronged him, for he acceded to all her wishes, just as he had always done. A friend of Mariannina's said to her: 'If life had never brought you anything else than to know a man like the King, you could still call yourself more than lucky. . . . Such ardent solicitude is seldom to be found. As a friend he is wonderful.'⁵

When Ludwig compared himself in health, strength, and looks with his friend in Italy, he said to himself: 'In spite of all my stormy times and the burdens of government, I have retained more power of resistance because my regular habits, my cheerfulness and my imagination have done much to preserve my youthful vigour.' King Ludwig knew that he was not a good-looking man, but he was pleased when he could make an impression on women by his intelligence and personality and not only because he was King. He was therefore entertained when, in July, 1839, Varnhagen von Ense sent the letter of a completely

¹ *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, CVI. Sonnet, IV, 14.

² *Gedichte Ludwig I.* (To my Wife in her 48th Year), '*An meine Frau in ihrem 48. Jahre.*' IV, 59.

³ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Perugia, 7th April, 1840. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ghita M. V. to Ludwig I, Perugia, 16th July, 1840. Munich H.A.

⁵ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, No. 906, 5th December, 1840. Munich H.A.

unknown Englishwoman, Charlotte W., in which she wrote: 'If you should see the King of Bavaria tell him that I have fallen in love with him after reading his poems! He is the only King whom I would like to know.' 'I do not know whether she is young or old, beautiful or ugly,' remarked the King.¹

In the meantime the Diet had met. The King had rather dreaded the occasion, but it passed off better than he had expected. 'On the whole everything is going well,' Ludwig wrote to his son Otto at Athens, 'except that they were infamous enough to say that the loan to Greece was only a pretext, and that in reality I had used the money for building: this was the only aspersion on my honour that I had to bear. . . .'²

The leading Minister, Abel, made many enemies because of his violent temper. Like Tann, but with far greater plainness of speech, the Crown Prince opposed Abel and his autocratic system in the *Landtag*. But apart from that, his whole attention was taken up by thoughts of marriage. The bride was to be rich and beautiful and, if possible, a German and a Protestant Princess. It was extremely difficult to find any one combining all these qualities. The King would have preferred a Catholic Grandduchess if he could not have a Russian daughter-in-law, but he told his son: 'I would not dream of choosing any one for you. . . but it is understood that my consent will be necessary for your marriage.'³ The Russian Court was still quite willing that the Crown Prince should marry the Czar's daughter Olga, but Maximilian continued to seek his bride himself. He was just then setting off on another tour of the provinces to 'inspect' various Princesses. Then on 7th June, 1840, Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia died, and Ludwig's brother-in-law ascended the Throne as the fourth of his name. The King of Bavaria sent his third youngest son with a letter of condolence to Berlin. This son, Luitpold, was his favourite and he had been brought up as though Ludwig had had a presentiment that 'he might one day ascend the throne'.⁴ In a very cordial letter Friedrich Wilhelm IV thanked the King of Bavaria for a gesture that constituted a rebuff to the people who 'would have liked to cause dissension between north and south Germany'.⁵

¹ Charlotte W. W. to Ludwig I, London, 8th June, 1839. Ludwig I to Therese, Brückenau, 17th July, 1839. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to King Otto, Munich, 23rd February, 1840. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Crown Prince Max, Munich, 28th March, 1840. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to King Otto, 10th October, 1838. Reidelbach, p. 96.

⁵ King Friedrich Wilhelm IV to Ludwig I, Sanssouci, 18th June, 1840. Munich H.A.

A continual preoccupation with Ludwig in these years were the religious antagonisms that were raging throughout his country. For all his Catholic sympathies he was supremely conscious that he was also the King of the Protestants in Bavaria, and that he was pledged by the Constitution to respect the equality of all creeds. He defended himself to his friend Tann: 'Just read the army orders yourself. The three highest promotions concern Protestants.'¹ 'The letter gives . . . dazzling proof of Your Majesty's sentiments, which are superior to all differences of creed,' replied Tann.² 'I need no guarantee, but I will not grudge them to fools (*Le public, le public, combien faut-il de sots pour faire un public?*)! . . .'

Simultaneously with this internal difficulty, foreign policy, which up to that time had not troubled King Ludwig much, came to the fore in 1840. France had gathered strength and had begun to take part in international affairs by interesting herself in the Egyptian-Turkish war. Thiers believed that he could take an active part once more and free France completely from the treaties of 1815 which had so long kept his country enslaved. The Minister was proposing to take sides with Mehemet Ali, the great enemy of Turkey. But an alliance was concluded in London between Russia, England, Prussia, and Austria, for the protection of that country, and in the face of this powerful combination Thiers had to give way. This aroused tremendous excitement in France. Once again voices clamoured for the reconquest of all territory left of the Rhine and this, in turn, had the effect of arousing national enthusiasm in Germany. All at once the clever and cultured French Minister in Munich, Baron de Bourgoing, recognized the existence of something to which, it seemed, Paris had never even given a thought. 'This idea of German nationality did not formerly exist amongst the Germans: it has only been created in our day but it is being pursued with fervour . . . such ideas make an impression upon the thirty-seven millions who speak German.'³

The King of Bavaria was foremost among these. 'Of all German Princes, Ludwig I is the one who harbours the most deeply-rooted prejudices against our country,' Bourgoing continued. 'Yet in spite of it his inclinations are all for peace, although if war

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Nuremberg, 13th September, 1840. Tann family archives.

² Tann to Ludwig I, 18th September, 1840. Munich H.A.

³ Chroust, IV, 214. Report dated 3rd December, 1840.

broke out we should have no greater enemy in Germany.' This was a fairly accurate description of Ludwig's attitude: 'Whatever land speaks German must be German, Alsace at least...' remarked the King of Bavaria anew. 'As we did nothing in the matter,' the French said, '*ces bêtes d'allemands n'ont pas osé. . .*'

In his attitude towards France, which was opposed to his policy, Metternich suddenly found himself in line with the two Kings, although otherwise he took little interest in the idea of German unity. He even wrote to Ludwig: 'France is about to receive a severe moral lesson. . . . Let us use the present time, Your Gracious Majesty, to show this excitable and excited country that Germany stands firmly united in intention and resources.'¹

Paris, however, had drawn back. Louis Philippe recognized that he could do nothing against the whole world. Thiers was replaced by Guizot, the too daring foreign policy was abandoned, and the danger which had threatened from the west was removed. King Ludwig gave public expression to his national enthusiasm by a gift to the poet Nikolaus Becker, who, during the days of warlike excitement, had composed the song: '*Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutschen Rhein*' ('It shall not be theirs, our free German Rhine').

Politics and the anxieties they brought in their train did not succeed in distracting Ludwig's attention from the fair sex. The newest spell-binder was Karoline Lizius, who was studying singing and was only sixteen years of age; her small child's face possessed infinite charm. Stieler painted her at the Palace. King Ludwig, again wildly in love, did not fail to appear at every sitting and overwhelmed her with presents. The child so enchanted him that he left her the sum of twenty thousand gulden in his will, and added 'she is a virtuous maiden and this I declare to be the truth'.²

The King could not live without love and he wrote:

'Oh, how I love thee!
My love I would so oft declare,
Asking my Love if she do care
One jot for me?

¹ Metternich to Ludwig I, Rough Draft, Vienna, 4th December, 1840. Vienna St.A.

² Munich, 31st December, 1840. There are many letters in existence from Karoline Lizius to the King, dated from December, 1840, to 1843. In 1849 she married Stobäus, who was appointed Cabinet Secretary. On a letter from her to the King dated 1st April, 1860, Ludwig wrote: 'In 1840 and 1841 I was in love with Karoline, but I am no longer. Now she seems to me more charming than ever: it requires great self-control.' This note was dated Munich, 3rd April, 1860.

Continually
 My being throbs in silent prayer
 That joyous word again to hear:
 Thou lovest me.¹

Fidelity to one being alone was impossible for Ludwig I. While he was so enchanted with little Karoline Lizius, he also fell under the spell of the actress Karoline Bauer. Since her alleged morganatic marriage with Prince Leopold of Coburg, afterwards King of the Belgians, and her successes on the Berlin stage, her name had been on everyone's lips during the years 1829-1831. At that time, as a star performer at the Court Theatre, she was delighting the people of Munich by her naïve, roguish, attractive yet completely natural manner. Ludwig paid her great attention, wrote her enthusiastic letters assuring her that his heart beat for her alone, and sent his court physician to her when she was ill.²

In spite of his quickly kindled enthusiasm for this or that beauty, the King realized that Therese, the mother of his children, did her utmost to make his life pleasant, hoping perhaps by this means to win him completely in the end. He would then reiterate his oft-expressed conviction that she was and remained a pearl among women. The fact that at that time Mariannina, in her letter No. 924, acknowledged the receipt of Ludwig's letter No. 1,500,³ had no bearing on the matter, for this affair had long since settled down into a quiet friendship.

Ludwig's sympathy with Greece had throughout remained unchanged. Close connection was maintained between the two Courts; young Greeks came to Munich to be brought up as pages and Queen Amalie's ladies-in-waiting visited 'Athens on the Isar'. Amongst them on one occasion was Katharina Botzaris, one of the most charming women ever born in Greece. She belonged to a very old and aristocratic Greek family which had particularly distinguished itself in the struggles against the Turks. Her father, Marko Botzaris, had fallen in battle in 1823. Ludwig enthusiastically commissioned Stieler to paint her, and this charming model gave the artist the opportunity of creating one of the most lovely pictures he had ever painted. Lost in admiration, the King stood before the portrait. Unfortunately, the original, after a short visit, had to return home where she soon

¹ *'Des Liebenden Gefühl.'* *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, IV, 115.

² Ludwig I to Karoline Bauer, Munich, 7th and 27th February, 1841. Munich H.A.

³ Letter dated 20th June, 1841. Munich H.A.

after married the handsome and gallant Greek Brigadier-General, Prince George Karadjas.

During this year the Bavarian Crown Prince visited his brother in Greece, but he felt as if he were 'on red-hot coals'. He could hardly await the time for his return to Bavaria, for he was obsessed by the thoughts of matrimony. On the way home he determined to 'inspect and test the suitability' of the Princesses of every country through which he passed. Tann, who held such a particularly favoured place in the King's affections, ventured, on the occasion of the announcement of a visit to one of the 'Candidates', smilingly to make a jest about the newly planned 'inspection' which would bring the 'number of virgins up to eleven thousand'.¹ 'I consider it my duty,' Maximilian wrote to his father,² 'to see as many princesses as possible this summer before I pledge myself for ever. . . .'

In Italy some of the Archduchesses would not receive him, others did not please him, and Max therefore soon returned to Germany. There the chase continued: 'Although I am heartily tired of all this travelling, I am on the point of entering the coach on my way to Hamburg, as one of the Princesses on the list is said to be staying in that neighbourhood. . . .'³ After that, in order to complete the round, he was to go on to Schwerin, Dessau, Hesse, Homburg, Lippe, Frankfurt, and Darmstadt. 'I am doing my best and am not wasting any time,' remarked Maximilian. 'I can only call upon Heaven to help me.'

During his search Crown Prince Maximilian came across the delightful Princess Marie of Prussia, daughter of the third son of Friedrich Wilhelm II and of a Hesse-Homburg Princess. He then returned to Munich. Ludwig I could not help smiling at all this: 'Even if my eldest son did not bring back a bride, the journey was not entirely fruitless, for he brought back a dear little monkey which he had bought in Greece for his mother. A month to-day, on his thirtieth birthday, the Crown Prince wishes to marry—but whom? That I do not know and neither does he. . . .'

In reality, however, Crown Prince Maximilian had already made up his mind. Elizabeth of Prussia had just then arrived in Munich

¹ Tann to Ludwig I, Tann, 14th February, 1841. Munich H.A.

² Crown Prince Maximilian to Ludwig I, Athens, 28th April, 1841. Munich H.A.

³ Crown Prince Maximilian to Ludwig I, 27th August, 1841. Munich H.A.



THERESE
Reine de Sardaigne

QUEEN THERESE.

with her husband on a short visit to her mother, the Dowager-Queen. In honour of her daughter's birthday the latter arranged a *soirée* on 30th November, 1841. Some of the guests had already arrived when Caroline, who was dressing, was suddenly taken ill. She had difficulty in breathing and there was fear of suffocation. The doctors who were hurriedly summoned declared that the Royal patient had only a few more minutes to live. Ludwig I only appeared as his stepmother breathed her last. The funeral was arranged for the 16th. She was to be interred in the Royal vault in the Catholic Theatiner Church, but she was a Protestant. The Protestant Clergy declared that they alone had the right to hold the burial service, and the Catholics, for their part, refused priests of another creed access to their church. Most unpleasant scenes followed. Finally the coffin was handed over to the Catholic Priests at the entrance of the Church and was transferred by them to the vault without any religious ceremony. Not a light, not a candle was lit—the priests were not in their vestments, but in their ordinary clothes. All this took place in the sight of the King and Queen of Prussia.* A preacher in the Royal Chapel even prophesied that the punishment of God would fall on the departed.

King Ludwig was beside himself; he regarded the whole incident as a personal insult. 'You know,' he said to the Austrian Minister,¹ 'I am a good Catholic, I have always proved it even in difficult times, but I will not tolerate provocation; my eyes are open and I know how to defend the dignity and prerogatives of the Crown.'

For the first time Ludwig was indignant with the Bishop of Munich, who had ordered the interment, and with Abel who had known about it. He was the more angry because Crown Prince Maximilian had just asked for the hand of Princess Marie in marriage. In these circumstances, the incident at the Theatiner Church was particularly embarrassing. It did not, however, prevent the engagement. The Prussian King and Queen gave their consent, and Ludwig I rejoiced sincerely in spite of the fact that the bride was a Protestant. Immediately the strained relations of the past between father and son were forgotten, and Ludwig had to agree that his son was right when he said: 'I did not choose hastily nor as the result of a passing fancy, but after mature and conscientious consideration. . . .' The marriage was fixed for

¹ *Graf Colloredo* to Metternich, Munich, 2nd February, 1842. Vienna St.A.

12th October, 1842, the anniversary of the wedding of King Ludwig I.

About this time King Ludwig presented to the Cathedral at Cologne five magnificently painted windows for the north aisle of the Church. His act was greeted by the hostility of Heine in the words:

‘Cologne Cathedral is being rebuilt.
A Hohenzollern brought it to pass,
The Habsburg House of its bounty gave,
And a Wittelsbach sent window glass.’¹

Whenever overwhelming political difficulties arose the King conceived a distaste for life in Bavaria, and longed for Italy where he could again for a time fancy himself a private individual, master of his wishes and moods and free from the bondage of a Throne. This time he did not go to Mariannina. He had not felt as comfortable in Waddington’s house on his last visit as he had been wont to feel under the Florenzi régime. Mariannina was very sad about it. She feared that this precious friendship was passing from her life: ‘One need not say that Baccinetti Waddington is different from Baccinetti Florenzi, but one would have to admit that the present Ludwig is no longer the Ludwig of old. If I examine my heart it is the same as it was in those days when Mariannina captivated Ludwig.’²

After long historical research, the King had finally completed the summaries of the lives of all those great Germans whose busts were to be placed in the Temple of Honour of the German nation—the Valhalla near Regensburg—which was nearing completion. The work was finished in Italy and in the summer the book *Walhallas Genossen* (‘Comrades in Valhalla’) appeared.

The wedding of the Crown Prince drew near. The programme of festivities was endless. ‘But I will see to it,’ said King Ludwig,³ ‘that the marriage is consummated before midnight, I mean, that the young couple can go to bed early.’ The 13th, the anniversary of King Maximilian’s death, was a day of rest, ‘for the young couple also, they will need it, but will not take it.’ During the festivities, the great Throne Room with its wonderful bronze statues of the ancestors of the Bavarian Royal House was formally opened.

¹ *Heines gesammelte Werke*, I, 358.

² Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, 8th May, 1842. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Berchtesgaden, 29th August, 1842. Brandenburg-Prussian Archives, Berlin.

Never had Munich been so beautifully decorated. Thirty-six happy couples were married at the same time. The Crown Prince's seventeen-year-old bride was small, it is true, but very pretty and with great charm. The King declared: 'I could never have found a better daughter-in-law than Marie.' But in spite of all this the marriage was a sinister one and doomed to disaster, for in the blood of both bride and bridegroom lay dormant a predisposition to the disease which had affected their ancestors. That which seemed great happiness, and was celebrated as such, bore within it the seeds of great misfortune.

The round of festivities which followed the wedding culminated on the 18th and 19th in great demonstrations in honour of the genius of the German nation. They ended with the opening of the Valhalla, which had been planned in 1807—at the 'time of Germany's deepest humiliation'—that enormous marble building designed by Klenze in the style of a Greek temple. To the Valhalla could come anyone who had rendered immortal service, provided his mother tongue were German. 'Speech is the great bond which unites, even if every other link be broken. It does not depend on where a person lives,' said King Ludwig in his opening speech to *Walhallas Genossen*.

Luther was missing from the ranks of this proud assembly. The Munich Protestants declared that Able was responsible for this. With some anxiety Ludwig had taken care that this festival should have a pan-German and not a purely Bavarian character. A beautiful young girl dressed as Germania declaimed the address of welcome. At the opening of the Hall of Liberty at Kehlheim on the following day, the King exhorted the German people: 'Let us never sink back into the rot of dissension. A united Germany cannot be conquered.' Naturally, there were people who criticized and found fault, as is everywhere the case. The demonstrations in favour of the unity and freedom of the whole of Germany made an unfavourable impression on France and upon her representative in Munich. The Minister, Baron Bourgoing, watched with anxiety the indubitable progress of the national idea in Germany.

At the end of November, 1842, Ludwig received news from Mariannina that she was about to travel through Switzerland to Paris. But hardly had she crossed the Splügen pass than she met bad weather. She grew melancholy. 'I cannot understand,' she informed Ludwig, 'how you can keep good-tempered in your

terrible climate. With your active mind and gay disposition the climate of Italy seems far more suitable to you.' ¹ Mariannina was hurt that Ludwig so obviously neglected her, and that his letters, although they never failed, were so much cooler. She therefore revenged herself a little by retailing to him, not without reproach, the gossip she had heard in Paris. 'It is said that you receive visits from many women, that you send for actresses to recite tragedies and poems to you, that the Queen frequently surprises you with them, and many similar things. . . . In spite of the purity of our relations, I am pained at this and feel very sad. I suffer both for myself and for you. You really should not take up with women of this sort and lower yourself. . . . I hope it is only the usual malicious gossip.' ²

A difficult time now loomed ahead of Ludwig I. On 20th November he opened the *Ständeversammlung* (Diet) with a speech from the Throne in which he praised the splendid spirit shown by Bavaria, as indeed by all Germany, when the Rhine frontiers seemed to be in danger: 'Every Teuton felt that he belonged to a common fatherland . . . and this sentiment will not disappear.' Important matters came up for discussion in the Diet, which showed antagonism between the King and the *Stände* (Estates), due to their differing conceptions of their respective rights. The King, in spite of the Constitution, held firmly to the opinion that: 'In Bavaria the King not only reigns and governs, but he also administers.' He repeatedly told some of the delegates: 'Gentlemen, understand this, I will act as a King. You must know that I will allow no disrespect to my authority.' Ludwig supported his claim by pointing out that he had re-established the financial position of the State and at last some degree of mutual understanding was arrived at. In the Diet there was an exhaustive discussion regarding the purchase of Goethe's house and collections. The poet's descendants had now attained their majority, and were beginning to forbid admission to the house and collections. There was danger that Goethe's personal effects would be scattered to the four winds. King Ludwig made great endeavours to purchase the things. After long discussions and delays the heirs asked seventy thousand thalers, an enormous sum for those days. The King finally offered sixty thousand.

¹ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Lecco, 25th November, 1842. Munich H.A.

² Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Paris, 10th December, 1842. Munich H.A.

The offer was refused, and the King withdrew from the whole affair in high dudgeon. He continued to promote both national and ecclesiastical art. On 13th June, 1843, Ludwig appeared in the Cathedral at Speyer and decided to add to the decoration of this, the finest Romanesque Church in Germany. He gave Schwanthaler the order to erect a monument to the Emperor Rudolf of Habsburg, who was buried there. By honouring the Habsburg royal family he wished to indicate that he wanted to maintain the best relations with Austria, more particularly now that his third son had become engaged to the Princess Auguste of Toscana, and Hildegard to the Archduke Albrecht, the heir to the victor of Aspern. Luitpold had always been his father's favourite: 'Two and twenty years have passed since first you saw the light, Yet never have you grieved our hearts but always brought delight.'¹

News now came from the troublous land in the South that on the night of 14th to 15th September, 1843, the Cretan, Kalergis, a partisan of Russia, had started a rising in Athens with the object of forcing Otto to dismiss all foreigners from the service of the State, and to draft a constitution. Otto was forced to submit and within a month a National Assembly was convened. 'That will lead to trouble! Poor Greece, poor Throne!' exclaimed the indignant Ludwig, who regarded the matter as a personal insult. He called upon the Great Powers to come to his son's aid.² Metternich saw in it only the 'political rivalry of certain Powers, which always . . . showed itself with unfortunate results in those places where weakness prevails'.³

Nevertheless, Ludwig now turned to Metternich, who was more easily accessible owing to the new family relationships with the Austrian Empire: 'To me armed insurrection is the worst thing possible. . . I rely upon the weight of your influence, for you are not only the Chancellor of the mighty Austrian Empire but also the Nestor of diplomacy.'⁴ King Otto was greatly alarmed, but his Queen less so. 'I do not think the outlook is too black; with God's help we shall survive the crisis,' she wrote to her father-in-law.⁵ This was actually the case, and after the insurgents had

¹ 'An meinen Sohn Luitpold an seinem Geburtsfest' (To my son Luitpold on his birthday). *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, IV, 214.

² Ludwig I to Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Aschaffenburg, 29th April, 1843. Brandenburg-Prussian Archives, Berlin.

³ Metternich to Ludwig I, Ischl, 18th July, 1843. Rough Draft in the Vienna St.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to Metternich, Munich, 17th October, 1843. Vienna St.A.

⁵ Queen Amalie of Greece to Ludwig I, 19th October, 1843. Munich H.A.

more or less attained their demands, the country calmed down.

Then came the task of replacing the State officials dismissed at the demand of the insurgents, and Count Spiro Theotoki was appointed aide-de-camp to the King. This extremely handsome young officer, with a number of other Greeks, had been sent to Munich for military training in 1834. Dressed in the *Fustanella*, the most becoming national dress, this young man with his black hair and burning dark eyes, had caused a great stir amongst the ladies. At a Court ball, Jane Ellenborough, who had been married to Baron Venningen for two years and had borne him two children, met the young Greek and very soon fell violently in love with him. During the summer he was in Heidelberg and she in Bad Schwetzingen. At night she would ride through darkness and mist to see him. He was poor, but Jane had money. Love again made her forget husband and children, and one day she decided to fly with the Greek. But her husband followed them and forced his rival to leave his carriage and fight a duel with him in the wood. The postilions were witnesses; the young Greek Count received a serious but not mortal wound above his heart: the husband then arranged for the wounded man to be nursed back to health, after which he agreed to a divorce and the lovebirds went to Theotoki's home in Corfu as man and wife. Now, because of the new appointment of her husband, Jane found herself at the court of the son of her former royal lover. Otto admired her as his father had done previously. King Ludwig had followed, with the greatest interest, the adventures of this woman who had so charmed him. In the meantime at Würzburg he received a visit from the Waddingtons, who were on their way back from England. Mariannina was anxious to take this opportunity of preventing the old associations from being broken.

During this time, too, Heine made up for his disappointment by emptying the vials of his hatred over Ludwig. He knew he had nothing more to hope for from the King. From Paris, where he was safe from reprisals, he opened a violent attack upon Ludwig in the *German-French Year Book* for 1844. He himself remarked: 'The three satirical songs on Ludwig of Bavaria are the most *sanglant* (outrageous) I have ever written!' ¹

Every effort was made to prevent the circulation of these

¹ Heine to Julius Campe, Paris, 29th December, 1843. Heine, *Gesammelte Werke*, IX, 224.

lampoons, by which Heine himself proved the wisdom of refusing his appointment as a lecturer at the University. A bookseller in Ulm was sentenced severely for selling the pamphlet, but King Ludwig intervened and reduced the sentence.

Metternich made use of this opportunity to point out how right he had been when he had agitated against such Literati. The King was annoyed that the Austrian Chancellor should interfere. Count von Senfft, the new Austrian Minister to Munich, an able man and a close adherent of Metternich, a convert to Roman Catholicism and therefore particularly catholic in his outlook, worked hand in hand with Abel. In this way the impression was given that the influence of the Danube State in Bavaria had been considerably increased by its ultramontane party.¹ But von Senfft warned his Chief: 'The King will not allow himself to be coerced, either in internal or in foreign affairs. What he might otherwise have done he refuses to do if pressed.'²

The double wedding of Ludwig's children took place in the spring of 1844. Luitpold married on 15th April. In a sonnet, Ludwig praised his new daughter-in-law Auguste, in whom 'German goodness of heart and soul were so perfectly blended with Italian temperament'.³ In the same way he praised his daughter Hildegard, 'who is now the daughter of the hero Archduke Charles, the pride and joy of every German.'⁴

The town of Munich prepared to celebrate the wedding festivities on 1st May, at the very moment when the population was seething with unrest because of the intensified religious quarrels, brought about by Abel's policy, and of the increased price of beer, as well as other more or less important grievances. On 2nd May, after the wedding, there was a gala performance at the theatre at which the Court was present. The prologue was addressed to Archduke Charles and the opera *Titus* had started, when suddenly there was a noise outside and a shout of 'Fire'. Sudden terror seized the audience, who rushed for the doors. The Royal Family remained calmly seated. Presently the audience returned and the performance continued. Then the Chief of Police appeared in the Royal Box with a report and after the

¹ Baron de Bourgoing to Guizot, Munich, 29th December, 1843. Chroust, V, 29.

² Graf Senfft to Metternich, 21st January, 1844. Vienna St.A.

³ CXLIV Sonnet. *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, IV, 292.

⁴ 'Abschied von unserer Tochter Hildegard im Mai 1844' (Farewell to our daughter Hildegard). *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, IV, 228.

first act the Court retired. What had happened? The populace had stormed the breweries, smashed the windows, laid waste the houses of the brewery owners, and here and there had begun to build barricades. Agitators incited the people against the Austrian marriages and pointed out that now the spirit of Metternich and the Jesuits would have increasing influence in Bavaria. A large crowd surged towards the theatre and caused the disturbance there.

These incidents were particularly disagreeable to King Ludwig on account of his guests. On 3rd May bakers' shops were looted and there was already talk of foreign influences, even of 'communism',¹ which was said to be spreading. But things had been exaggerated. The King was not afraid; in spite of the disturbances he drove through the streets of the town on 4th May. The following day he went out unattended by any of his suite, and at the annual fair in the suburb of Au he was everywhere respectfully greeted. It was again proved that the Bavarians, as Bourgoing had rightly reported, in spite of occasional excitement, were easier to lead and more patient than any other branch of the German people. Quiet was soon restored, and the King expressed his thanks to the Burgomaster of Munich for the calm behaviour of the majority of the inhabitants. Ludwig did not take these incidents too seriously, and believed that he could undertake a journey to Italy without anxiety.

He went first to Rome, which never ceased to weave its spell about him. Then, after a short stay in Sicily, the King paid a visit to the Waddingtons at Ascagnano on his return journey. He remained a week, but only to make certain that the dream of youth had completely vanished and that his heart remained unaffected. Having recovered from his passion and jealousy, he wrote:

'Right glad am I that never now I feel Love's passion—
And yet how greatly do I miss Life's sunshine which is Love,
For if the sun be hid the loveliest scene doth lose its loveliness.'²

On his return to Munich, the King realized that he had judged the situation in the spring too hastily. The irritation of the populace had not been allayed. Little local disturbances were of constant occurrence.

Since the May incidents the malcontents had set up the Crown

¹ Baron de Bourgoing to Guizot, Munich, 4th May, 1844. Chroust, V, 59.

² 'Im Sommer, 1844.' *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, IV, 288.

Prince, an 'arrogant although shallow character but with a pleasing personality', to be their figure-head in the fight against the King because, 'owing to his more moderate Catholic sentiments, his connection with Prussia and the charming appearance of his wife,' he seemed suitable. It was in regard to Abel that the voice of dissatisfaction was loudest.¹

The King was much disconcerted at the situation. 'Things have reached a pretty pass in Munich,' he wrote to Tann.² 'They inveigh against me chiefly on account of my building at Kehlheim, saying that I am only thinking of fame, and neglecting essentials. But what in the world has the Hall of Liberty, started two years ago and paid for out of my own purse, to do with the price of meat? It is too ridiculous, but when malicious tongues are at work they find credulous stupidity which listens. . . . Such feelings are not pleasant, but I should now be used to vilification during the nineteen years I have reigned. . . .'

On 8th October the two statues of Wrede and Tilly, by Schwanthaler, were to be solemnly set up in the '*Feldherrnhalle*' ('Hall of the great generals'), which was the last building at the town end of the *Palaststrasse*, the street which had been Ludwig's dream and which was now making good progress. The unveiling of these statues was made another occasion for censuring the King for his love of magnificent buildings, and for spending money on non-essentials; the censorious never considered that it provided work for many people. At the same time the King's Pan-German efforts were honest and far-seeing. Baron Bourgoing recognized this. In discussing Ludwig's national, 'ultra-Teutonic' sentiments, he prophesied that the King would gradually 'make general the desire for a union of the dismembered portions of German territory, which would necessarily engulf all the smaller dynasties'.

In those days great excitement over religious matters prevailed in Bavaria, as indeed all over Germany. Metternich regarded it as a struggle not only between two creeds but also between the principle of authority and its negation, in which the antagonisms between Catholics and Protestants were being exploited. He even mentioned the possibility of a religious war in Germany,³ in which case Bavaria and Austria would have to stand side by side.

¹ *Graf Senfft* to Metternich, Munich, 8th October, 1844. Vienna St.A.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Berchtesgaden, 26th September, 1844. Tann family archives.

³ Metternich to *Graf Senfft*, 6th and 26th January, 1845. Rough Draft in the Vienna St.A.

Things were difficult for Ludwig. His position between Berlin and Vienna was embarrassing. Personal feeling and the Catholic majority amongst his subjects, the new ties of relationship and Metternich's influence, drew him towards Austria; his national feelings and his Pan-German sentiments, the Customs Union, the Protestant section of his subjects, and again family ties, inclined him to Prussia. Vacillation was at times inevitable. But in King Ludwig's opinion this was proof that alone his personal rule, his conciliatory attitude of re-adjustment, which yielded neither to the one side nor to the other, could ensure the permanency of his government and the salvation of his people. It was difficult for the King: if he made a concession to one party he found transient favour with that party—'Till a new demand is made to which I cannot agree,' he declared. 'Then I am *de nouveau la bête noire*. I know that well.'¹

Undoubtedly King Ludwig had come considerably nearer to Metternich's way of thinking. He now admitted that it was difficult to rule with a Constitution, and it was the difficulties he encountered in his own country which led him to this conclusion. The constant warnings of the Austrian Chancellor, who knew how to paint revolution and anarchy in harsh colours, added to the King's natural antipathy to rebellion and disorder. He did not realize that although the Austrian Chancellor was right when he preached that lack of discipline and law was the worst thing that could come upon a nation, yet, on the other hand, obstinate adherence to antiquated forms and laws, which took no account of the march of progress, was also apt to lead to a break-down and thus, by indirect means, encourage the very thing that Metternich was anxious to avoid. In this way Metternich lost touch with the youth of the country and, as Ludwig allowed himself to be led astray, he likewise was soon out of touch with the younger generation in Bavaria. He even found himself in growing opposition to his own sons who, like Ludwig when he was Crown Prince, held liberal views, and who were thus on the side of the opposition. That was even true of Prince Luitpold, who was told to avoid any appearance of being under the influence of his Austrian wife. Ludwig invariably withdrew suddenly when he suspected that anyone wished to wrest from him some concession which was against his convictions. In September, 1845, when Ludwig was on a visit to Aschaffenburg, the Chancellor attempted

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 12th March, 1845. Archives of the Tann family.

in a conference lasting several hours, to win over the King to his projects and ideas. But the didactic tone of the statesman, his superiority which he delighted to impress upon everyone around him on every occasion, acted rather as a deterrent on the King. Metternich exaggerated too much. All over the world he envisaged revolution and terror, simply because people refused to subscribe to his policy. Ludwig was of one mind with the Austrian regarding insurrection, but where his conviction was at variance he refused to follow him.

At Aschaffenburg the King had at last been able to realize a long cherished wish, to have a house constructed on the model of the house of Castor and Pollux at Pompeii. Gärtner had carried this out entirely in the classical style of an old Roman dwelling. Ludwig was sitting in its large dining-hall or summer *triclinium*, which opened on to the garden, when he received the news that, on his birthday, at the very same hour at which Ludwig himself had been born, a son had been born to the Crown Prince and was to be called after his grandfather.

'Welcome art thou, Grandson,
Thou who bearest my name. . . .
When I shall long have ceased to be
May I continue to exist in thee,
The other Ludwig.
When I sink into seas of Eternity
Thou shalt arise as Ruler. . . .
Only he can rule who rules himself.'¹

Ludwig warned the happy father, his son Max, who was conspicuously on the side of the liberals and in active opposition to the clerical administration, to keep his feelings under control: 'Not from the ultra Catholics—not from that side . . . threatens the danger. From irreligion, from Communism . . . comes the threat to the Throne. The old saying is still true: "When the last priest is strangled the last king must be strangled with him."'²

On 6th December the King opened the *Landtag* with the words: 'God has blessed my House and has allowed me to be three times a grandfather. I hope that my grandchildren will inherit the love that I bear my people. . . . In this time of stress the attitude of my people is exemplary. I feel proud to be King of such a nation.'

¹ '*An den Erstgeborenen meines Sohnes, sechs Tage nach seiner Geburt*' (To my son's firstborn, six days after his birth), 7th September, 1845. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Crown Prince Maximilian, Munich, 28th October, 1845. Munich H.A.

In the Chamber there were immediate signs of dissatisfaction with the leading Minister and Ludwig began seriously to doubt whether Abel was what he had, up to that time, believed him to be. Even with him the King jealously enforced his own will, a fact which was sometimes cleverly exploited by the Minister. On one occasion when a *protégé* of Abel's had had his petition repeatedly refused by letter, he suggested that the applicant should make one more effort, this time addressing his request not to the King but to the Ministry. When it arrived Abel put his pen through it and presented it to the King saying the petition had been refused as he knew the King was not inclined to consider it.

'What! *You* have refused it! No, no. Approved, approved!' ¹

Ludwig was determined to preserve his equanimity. 'In spite of the Diet I feel cheerful, although I have already experienced a great deal of unpleasantness: I am by no means indifferent, but sadness would change nothing: I insist on being gay and I will not be forced into submission.' ²

Pamphlets and addresses were showered upon the King from all sides containing all kinds of wishes and requests—often contradictory to each other. Ludwig finally answered all together in a Royal Declaration dated 13th February, 1846: 'I repeat I am mindful of the welfare of all my subjects irrespective of creed, and conscientiously protect the ecclesiastical rights granted under the Constitution to both Catholics and Protestants. . . .' ³

Many members of the Chamber held the same opinions as young Wrede, who said that Abel, by his dependence on Rome and submission to the Ultramontanes, was making Bavaria the laughing-stock of Germany. The poorly paid officials and the army, which had undoubtedly been slighted, were, to a great extent, of the same opinion. So were many of the aristocracy and even the four princes of the Royal House, Karl, the Crown Prince, Luitpold, and Duke Max often sided with the opposition.

The *Reichsräte* (National Counsellors) seriously considered opening the King's eyes with regard to Abel's policy, which they were convinced was injurious to the country. The Austrian Minister was completely on the side of the chief Minister, and let this be more clearly apparent than was to the advantage of Ludwig

¹ E. Escherich, *Alt-Münchner Erinnerungen*, p. 93.

² Ludwig I to Crown Prince Max, Munich, 18th December, 1845. Munich H.A.

³ A Royal Declaration dated 13th February, 1846. Munich H.A.

and Abel. One of the *Reichsräte* was Prince von Leiningen, half-brother of Queen Victoria. He also kept close watch on the course of events and reported on King Ludwig's attitude to his brother-in-law Albert, the Prince Consort. 'This clever and well-meaning ruler has, it appears to me, through his unceasing endeavours to rule independently, fallen a victim to the exact opposite and become dependent upon the views, decisions, and information of a small group. His deafness, irritability, even his tendency to poetry and to arbitrariness afford every opportunity of maintaining him in this dependence.'

The population of Munich attributed Abel's administration to Austrian influence. The Dowager Empress Karoline Auguste, Prince Metternich, the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna, and the Austrian Minister were, it was said, the real rulers of Bavaria. That was an exaggeration, but it was true that all these persons, with the exception of the Empress, who never interfered in politics, were on Abel's side. The Diet closed with an apparent victory for Abel, who had cleverly calmed all the storms which had raged about him and his policy in the Chamber and had carried through all his plans.

The British Minister, however, was right when he reported to his Government that this result was rather to be attributed to the King's jealousy. Ludwig was determined to oppose everything savouring of an attempt by unauthorized persons to interfere in his choice of Ministers, which was a royal prerogative. Ludwig's personal comment after this Diet was that Abel had been too high-handed and that he, the King, had made too many sacrifices on his behalf. The King determined to dismiss the Minister and at the same time avoid the appearance of having been forced to such a step.

After the close of these sessions of the *Landtag*, the Crown Prince asked permission to make a journey to France as he wished to have some sea bathing at Dieppe. Maximilian had always shown leanings towards France, which were most unwelcome to Ludwig. He was reluctant to give his consent because he was sure that French policy would flatter and make much of his son, but he finally gave in, with the warning¹: 'I am Teuton, through and through, and I hope that you too will remain Teuton even in Paris.' The King could not be friendly with France. He was still under the influence of Napoleonic times.

¹ Ludwig I to Crown Prince Max, Munich, 29th May, 1846. Munich H.A.

'The younger generation can have no idea of the horrible foreign oppression under which we suffered,'¹ he wrote to Tann.

Although politics occupied so much of Ludwig's attention, he still found time to concern himself about the German Catholic colonies in North America. He placed at their disposal ample funds for the founding of monasteries. 'I do not forget you over there in America. I will not forsake you, but you must remain Teuton, Teuton! Do not become English!'² The Redemptorists were thus able to build a convent in Baltimore and it was here that the American teaching sisterhood originated.³

It was at this time that the King laid in Munich the foundation-stone of the new Pinakothek, in which the art treasures of the nineteenth century were to be placed. 'Art must not be regarded as a luxury,' he said on that occasion. 'My great artists are my pride and joy. The work of statesmen will long be forgotten when those of excellent artists still give pleasure.'

With all these recent anxieties the King had had little time to enjoy the pleasures of women's society, with the single exception of his reconciliation with Charlotte von Hagn, who had been allowed to return to Munich in April, 1845, for some special performances. After her audience with the King the actress wrote enthusiastically: 'King Ludwig is after all the most interesting man in the whole of his country. . . . He is a noble being.'⁴

The correspondence with Mariannina continued, and letters had by now reached a fantastic figure. The patriotic enthusiast was delighted when in June, 1846, a new and, it was said, nationally-minded Pope ascended the Papal Throne. 'I cannot express to you how universally beloved and popular he is.'⁵ In the meantime, Ghita endeavoured, by clumsy manœuvres, to revive the King's interest in her friend, and informed him that when asked which she loved more, her husband or the King, she had answered without hesitation: 'Ludwig.'⁶ Mariannina herself wrote: 'You have been

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Aschaffenburg, 26th July, 1846. Tann family archives.

² *König Ludwig I. als Förderer des Deutschtums und des Katholizismus in Nord Amerika*, Munich, 1925, Ludwig I to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, *Freiherr von Gise*, 16th December, 1846, p. 625.

³ *König Ludwig I. als Förderer des Deutschtums und des Katholizismus in Nord Amerika*, Munich, 1925, Ludwig I to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, *Freiherr von Gise*, 16th December, 1846, p. 645.

⁴ Bobbert, *Hagn*, p. 100.

⁵ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Perugia, 4th September, 1846. Munich H.A.

⁶ Ghita M. V. to Ludwig I, Perugia, 12th June, 1845. Munich H.A.

⁷ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Gubbio, 9th July, 1845. Munich H.A.

my constant companion on the road of life and will remain so, wherever I may be. . . . I think of you always and always . . . I dream of you.¹

Such words always moved the King deeply: 'You are mistaken,' he replied,² 'when you think that the barometer of my love has sunk to zero. You are the life of my life.' This, though beautifully expressed, was rather an over-statement. Mariannina no longer possessed Ludwig's heart, although he continued the correspondence which had become a habit. He answered affectionate letters with similar ones, but they had no meaning. He missed the passionate love which was so necessary to his being. 'Out of love' was the title of one of Ludwig's poems of this period and that meant for him joylessness, darkness, cold barren loneliness.

'To charm me Nature hath no might,
No longer Beauty gives delight;
All Love is finished, Beauty dead
And I with Love no longer wed.'³

So Ludwig was out of love but longing to be in love. His heart was wide open and danger threatened.

¹ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Perugia, 8th June, 1846. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Mariannina Waddington, Munich, 9th January, 1846. Munich H.A.

³ 'Unverliebt' (Unloved). *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, IV, 244.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN HEART AND THRONE

1846-7

King Ludwig was now in his sixty-first year. His zest for work and his longing to make people happy had not diminished. The light in his study still shone at four every morning across the empty square in front of the Palace. Thousands of marginal notes on reports bore witness to his efforts to do his best for his country. But the King was depressed. His sixtieth birthday made a terrible impression upon him, the more so as this day, the stepping-stone from maturity to old age, found his heart empty, lacking the magic which had been essential to him in that constant succession of beautiful and intelligent women. That magic was as the breath of life to him and without it he could not live. His wise and kindly wife had long since recognized this and had adjusted her life and attitude accordingly. Was this to be the end? Had the ravages of time taken such toll of Ludwig's appearance that he could no longer hope to find favour in the eyes of a woman? Were his fiery spirit, his trenchant speech, his passionate nature no longer capable of influencing the other sex? For a long time the King had looked older than he really was, but now he could have passed for fifty. He had never been good-looking, it is true, and age had not altered this. On the contrary, a cyst began to form on his forehead, which was painful and also disfiguring. But his longing to attract women was stronger than ever, just at the moment when Nature was apparently bidding Ludwig take a final farewell from that which is so beautiful in life, the rapture that each feels who has aroused liking, even love, in another, especially when that other is a beautiful and desirable being.

Such was Ludwig's mood when he was informed by the Directors of the Court Theatre that a Spanish dancer, Señora Maria de los Dolores Porris y Montez, had applied for permission to dance there. Her name was familiar to the officials for she had appeared once at a London theatre, but it was said that her *tournee* had not passed off without incident. Beyond that nothing was known except that she had travelled extensively and had been concerned in legal

proceedings following a duel on her account in Paris. This was, however, reason enough to advise the King to refuse her request. In most cases the King was inclined to agree with the Directors, but this dancer with the high-sounding name intrigued him. Ludwig was as interested in Spain as in Italy. The magic and melody of the language fascinated him and he had therefore taken the trouble to learn it. He had read a great deal of Calderon and he felt that it would give him great pleasure to speak to this Spanish woman. Such considerations induced the King to institute further inquiries about her. He learned that the dancer was a very beautiful woman who in the course of her life had captivated many, amongst them the celebrated pianist, Franz Liszt. It would be most interesting to meet her.

The dancer meanwhile was depressed at the refusal of her first petition. She had been advised to try to overcome the opposition of the authorities by an audience with the King, that she might, after all, obtain permission to appear at the Court Theatre. The Señora seized eagerly upon this plan, for she was well aware of the effect her appearance had on men. And truly, she was one of Nature's masterpieces. Fiery, deep blue, flashing eyes, which at times glistened as it were with untamed ardour, lit up her beautifully moulded face. Her gentle brow was shaded by silky hair the colour of ebony. There was something noble about the mouth, though perhaps it was a little large. She had a slender snow-white neck and a figure which compelled admiration from even the most confirmed misogynist. In her eyes one read something of the intelligence which lay behind them, but her heart was as daring as it was passionate, as courageous as it was unrestrained. She defied the laws which bound her fellow-men. She laughed at appearances and etiquette, which must be conformed to whatever the real feelings. She despised piety, particularly a great parade of it. 'I am frank,' she thought, 'and all the others are hypocrites.' Lola Montez thought it was permissible to show herself as she really was. But there she made a mistake. In society it is as important to observe the proprieties as it is to wear clothes.

Lola Montez feverishly awaited the moment when she could bring the oft-tested powers of her personality to bear on the King of Bavaria. He was known throughout the world as a lover of women. Twice she attempted in vain to obtain an audience, the third time she was successful. The King agreed to see what this

persistent supplicant was like and if she were really as beautiful as she was said to be.

The aide-de-camp of the day ushered the lady into the audience chamber. She was dressed in black rustling silk and in her dusky hair a diamond gleamed, like a drop of morning dew. No one was present during the conversation but the loud voice of the deaf King could be heard in the ante-room. He greeted her in Spanish and talked eagerly of art and literature and his longing some day to visit her home. The usual time allowed for an audience was long past and in the ante-room innumerable people awaited their turn. Appeals were made to the aide-de-camp, but he merely shrugged his shoulders, knowing from experience that the King disliked to be reminded of his duty. At last the audience was at an end and shortly afterwards instructions were issued to the Directors of the Court Theatre: The 'Spanish lady of noble birth' is permitted to dance!

10th October, 1846, was fixed for her first appearance. The notices on the door of the theatre read: 'The Enchanted Prince, Farce in three Acts by J. von Ploetz. In the two entr'actes Demoiselle Lola Montez from Madrid will dance Spanish National Dances.' There was great excitement in Munich. There were already whispers that this woman had not the best of reputations and that she had had numerous adventures in many cities of the world. She was said to be a free-thinker who would have nothing to do with religion. But everyone was anxious to see her. Everyone was curious. The evening arrived, and the theatre was filled to overflowing. Then suddenly the audience rose—the King had entered the Royal Box. He was received with great acclamations and then the curtain opened. The first act of the comedy took its course and aroused little interest. Everyone waited eagerly for the entr'acte, expecting to see a little lady in a ballet frock who would pirouette across the stage. But no—whilst the music was playing, softly and then with ever increasing volume, a woman in Spanish dress appeared, this time again in black silk, her only adornment some wonderful old lace and sparkling diamonds. After a deep graceful curtsey to the King she began to dance. First slowly, rhythmically, quietly, almost with dignity, but then, keeping time with the growing pace of the music, with its impassioned strains and the exciting sound of the castanets, her beautiful body awoke to life. Her eyes seemed to flash fire. It was as if the passion in her heart had taken possession of her limbs and forced them to

this whirling, bewitching dance. Experts said she had no idea of Fandango or Bolero, they were totally different, the steps and movements were wrong. Yet, even if it followed no rule, this was true dancing—inward fire expressed in movement.

The music died away. The dancer bowed, and then a storm of applause shook the house. Over and over again she had to appear before the curtain. Individual attempts to hiss, due to the origin of the beautiful dancer and the gossip surrounding her name, passed unnoticed in the volume of applause. From his box Ludwig watched the performance as if under a spell. His eyes never left the beautiful Andalusian. He called to his aide-de-camp: 'Wonderful, wonderful,'¹ and himself led every fresh burst of applause. The Director was covered with confusion. He wished to offer her a contract, but Lola Montez said proudly: 'You did not consider me fit to appear. I have proved the contrary to you. I want nothing else. I bid you farewell, *mein Herr*.'

The King sent the lady a message of appreciation and the Demoiselle de Montez allowed herself to be persuaded to give a second performance. On the first evening the King had decided that Stieler must paint her picture; if ever a woman deserved a place in his *Schönheitsgalerie*, this was she; moreover he would thus have an opportunity of speaking to the fascinating dancer and of seeing her often; Stieler must be told to paint slowly. The King sent her as first gift a volume of his poems beautifully bound in leather, an honour he had shown to scarcely anyone before.

The sitting which now followed gave the fascinating stranger the opportunity of storming the King's heart, so empty of love. The dancer realized the situation at a glance and brought all her powers of seduction to bear. She recognized immediately that it was not only a question of bewitching him with her lovely eyes—to produce a lasting effect she must seem to be enchanted herself, she must act a part, appear as if she had come under the spell of the King's personality, and his intelligence, and was fast falling violently in love with him. Men were so conceited; each liked to hear he was a woman's first love. To dare such a course here needed boundless impudence, but Lola Montez attempted it. She read in the ecstatic eyes of this ageing man, and in his boundless enthusiasm for her beauty, that she could go to greater lengths than the good sense and wisdom of this King would otherwise have permitted. It is

¹ See Luise von Kobell, *Unter den vier ersten Königen Bayerns*, I, 12; and Horace Wyndham, *The Magnificent Montez*, London, 1935, p. 100.

possible that the exuberant spirits, the eager speech, the unbounded enthusiasm of the King really appealed to her. Flattered vanity warms the heart. That applied as much to Lola Montez as to the King and to others. Lola tried to show herself in the best light. She told him about her life—she was now only twenty-two—spoke of her noble Spanish birth and let him hear her repeat her strange exotic name. She would return home after a sitting in Stieler's studio with triumph in her eyes. On one occasion she gave the King a rose. Inadvertently he left it lying there on the table. When he arrived home he missed the flower received from such a lovely hand and immediately sent a note to the artist saying¹: 'I wish the rose I left behind to be sent immediately but in a well sealed cover. Ludwig.'

The King had lost his heart once more. Overflowing with happiness he felt he must confide in someone. But with whom could he discuss such a delicate subject? He realized he must exercise the greatest discretion, as calumny dogged the footsteps of this, his latest love. Tann? Yes, Tann would be the right person. He was not in Munich, it was true, but he was a loyal soul and understood the needs of a heart like his. He would not start at once with warnings, like a priest in the confessional. Tann did not mince matters, and did not in his heart of hearts approve of the too numerous love affairs of his King; but he had reached much the same point of view as the Queen, to whom naturally Ludwig could not pour out his heart.

Tann collected the autographs of celebrated people. That made a good pretext for writing to him. Ludwig sent him two specimens and described his wonderful experience²: 'More than twelve years ago you remarked to me that it was a delightful thing, at the age of forty-eight (my age at the time), to have won a heart . . . but what will my dear Tann say when I tell him that the man of sixty years has inspired the first passion in the heart of a beautiful twenty-two-year-old daughter of the South, an aristocrat by birth, clever, witty and possessing real goodness of heart. . . . Intending to make only a short stay here, she wept at the thought of departure. She realized she could not leave. She broke off her connections, gave up everything and has established herself in Munich. Admiration (it is not modest of me to repeat this,

¹ In possession of the Stieler family, Augsburg ; Munich, 19th October, 1846.

² Ludwig I to Heinrich Freiherr von der Tann, Munich, 17th November, 1846. Archives of the Tann family.

but she said so) for all I had done filled her, then love came. I can only liken myself to Vesuvius, which appeared dead until suddenly there was a fresh eruption. . . . I believed that I could no longer feel love's passion, considered my heart was burnt out, thought I was no longer what I had been. It was a mournful thought. But passion, such as I have never experienced before, possessed me not like a man of forty, but like a youth of twenty, yes, even *comme un amoureux de quinze ans*. My appetite, my sleep were affected, my blood ran feverishly through my veins, I was raised to the heights of heaven, my thoughts became purer, I became a better man; I was happy, I am happy! My life has received a new impetus, I have grown young again, the world smiles upon me. I have spoken of my old friend Tann to my young friend, and I will introduce you to her myself. This is a confession and happy to make it is your affectionate Ludwig. PS. Happy in my love, I still remembered your autographs, and enclose two.'

The King felt that he had grown young and was transformed. The lines he had once composed came to his lips:

'Joyfully wakens the heralded morning,
Rapturously dawns Love's bright sun anew, . . .
Who cares for treasure, or fame, or renown,
What's the possession of Earth's greatest crown,
Compared with a woman who's loving and true?'¹

The news of the King's latest friendship became public property remarkably quickly and was discussed with great eagerness. There had previously been many such friendships, but most of them had remained secret and were only discussed in the most intimate circles. But how different this time! Politics, the evil that confuses everything and has a destructive effect on matters of heart, interfered. The so-called Ultramontanes, who included the Ministry, were particularly alive to the fact that the King was enamoured of a Freemason who scoffed at the idea of spending her time on her knees in Church, who in fact often made fun of the Minister's clerical policy. Who was this upstart Spanish woman who had been in Munich only a few weeks and who dared to try to obtain an influence in political matters because she had won the King's favour? Inquiries were instituted and certain facts came to light. She had no documents and could not prove that she had any right to the name she used. The information procured and published

¹ *Gedichte Ludwig I.*, III, 56. XI Chor.

by the *Gazette des Tribunaux* in 1846 concerning Lola Montez' connection with the Dujarier case was seized upon eagerly. According to this she was twenty-seven and not twenty-two, an Irish woman, not of noble birth, whose maiden name was Marie Dolores Eliza Rosanna Gilbert, and she was the divorced wife of a Mr. James; the high-sounding Spanish title was her stage name chosen at random, and had no connection with the famous Spanish toreador Montez. She had been called Lola as a child, Dolores Eliza being too long. It also transpired that she had been expelled from Warsaw and Berlin for threatening police officials with a riding whip, etc. Shortly before her arrival in Munich Prince Heinrich LXXII Reuss had banished her from his country for shameless behaviour. All information agreed upon one point—that the dancer's reputation was by no means unblemished, but that, quickly as she inflamed men's passions she also repelled them again by her unmannerliness and uncontrolled arrogant self-will. Added to all this were political slanders which connected her, in many cases quite unjustly, with all the revolutionary personalities of the time, such as Mazzini and others.

It was not long before these rumours reached the King, who was completely under the spell of this captivating woman; she was so different from all others he had ever met. In moving accents she assured him: 'I renounce everything for you, for your sake I submit to the slander which is being circulated about me in the Press, in churches and the *salons*. All this is nothing compared with the boundless love with which, you, my King, inspire me.' Ludwig allowed himself to be completely bewitched. In a codicil dated the 20th November, 1846, to his latest will, he bequeathed to Lola Montez, in the event of her being neither married nor widowed at the time of his death, one hundred thousand gulden at her free disposal. In addition, the usufructuary and heir was to hand over to her the last oil painting made before the King's death and to pay her the sum of 2,400 gulden annually as income unless or until she should marry, 'I would be no man of honour and have no feelings,' wrote the King,¹ 'if I failed to make provision for this woman who gave up everything for my sake; who has no parents, no brothers or sisters, no one on earth but me. . . . Her friendship has made me purer, better. Therese, my dear good noble wife, do not judge me unjustly.' The King had eyes for nothing but his

¹ Codicil to Ludwig I's Will, Munich, 20th November, 1846 The words '*Nicht gültig*' (not valid), were written across it later. Munich H.A.

new love. He revelled in her alleged noble birth as well as in her youth, and wrote to Tann more often than ever merely to talk about her: 'I told you that Lola Montez (in reality Maria de los Dolores Porris y Montez) was older than she really is—she is only twenty-one . . . therefore the same age as my seventh child.'¹

The dancer stated that she came from Seville, whereas she was in fact born at Limerick in Ireland. When she realized the effect of her pretence to Hidalgo origin she continued to speak Spanish with the King, but on one occasion it was apparent to Ludwig that she did not speak the language much better than he did. Lola Montez continued to complain about the slanders and malice in order to anticipate any doubts Ludwig might have about her statements, and she was completely successful in convincing the bewitched man that she alone spoke the truth and that all the rest lied. 'Cruelly is Lolita (for so I call her) maligned, has been and still is,' the King hastened to tell Tann. 'A foreigner who wishes to remain in Munich, who is beautiful, is loved by the King, is witty—what more is needed to arouse enmity, lies and persecution? But all this will eventually cease and constancy will triumph. She is not only one who loves me, she is also a friend. She declares she will always tell me the truth, and she has already told me several things that were unpleasant. I longed to tell my old friend, my trusty Tann, this which is very near my heart. I felt forced to.'

Stieler's picture was not sufficient for the King; he had a life-size portrait of Lola painted by Kaulbach for the new Pinakothek, the foundation-stone of which he had laid a short time before. In the meantime Lola used every means to influence Ludwig. The wife of a Munich artist confided to the King that during a sitting to Kaulbach, Montez had spoken of the King and tears had come into her eyes. That did not fail in its effect on Ludwig. 'So much am I loved by her. I keep her, but I do not entertain her. . . . She dislikes the actress D. but she, it is true, has maligned her badly.'²

The influence of this enchantress on the King was observed with astonishment in Munich. The official observers, too, the foreign diplomats, amongst them the Prussian, Count Bernstorff, a conservative and proud of his noble descent, watched with sheer

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 24th November, 1846. Archives of the Tann family.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 27th November, 1846. Archives of the Tann family.

amazement the change in the King, who had eyes and ears only for the dancer. Contrary to his custom, he spared no expense to fulfil her wishes. He placed at her disposal a box at the theatre immediately beside the Court Box and bought her an equipage. Carriage and lackeys wore armorial bearings with a nine-pointed coronet. It was immediately concluded that the King wished to elevate Lola Montez to the rank of Countess. It was already rumoured that through Lola's influence and intervention posts could be obtained, increase of pay granted, and transfers forced. Lola lived in a building belonging to the Hotel '*Zum Goldenen Hirschen*'. The King visited her daily. Everyone knew, for he went there in broad daylight and every child knew the King.

'All veneration for the sanctity of the King's person,' Count Bernstorff reported to Berlin,¹ 'every conception of the dignity of the Throne is trampled under foot by this ruthless publicity. . . . The ecclesiastical party is profoundly depressed and anxious. They, who in addresses and manifestos had always proclaimed King Ludwig as the most devout of Kings, as the Protector of the Church and the Faith, suddenly find themselves most cruelly confuted in the eyes of the whole world. However, this party with its priests and father confessors will scarcely fail to exploit the King's new blunder to their own advantage. . . .'

Anonymous letters were written to the Queen. She, gentleness itself and accustomed to her husband's susceptibilities, had finally called him to task in anger. The result was a discussion and a quarrel between husband and wife, which lasted several days, and which was apparent to the world because for several consecutive performances the King avoided the Queen's box at the theatre, and, contrary to his usual custom, sat alone in the large unlit Court Box. That lasted for a few days and then they were again seen together at the theatre; but this was only due to Therese's gentle conciliatory efforts. The King did not give up Lola Montez; he remained as before under her spell. On 1st December, 1846, he bought her a house, No. 7 *Barerstrasse*, at a cost of 16,000 gulden, a comparatively low price. It was rather an unpretentious little house, but none the less reports concerning the 'palace prepared by the King for the dancer' were fantastic. Everything was grossly exaggerated. No one hesitated to pry into the King's private affairs in the most spiteful manner, but Ludwig paid no

¹ *Graf Bernstorff to von Canitz, Confidential Report, Munich, 30th November, 1846. Secret Prussian State Archives, Dahlem.*

attention to what was said about him. Treitschke spoke the truth when he said that for her sake the King forgot himself, the world, and his kingly dignity.¹ This self-styled Andalusian, 'slight and gentle as a gazelle,' with her 'shining heavenly blue eyes' and her cheerful spirit, raised him into the seventh heaven of delight.²

'The music of thy voice causes me to fall adoring at thy feet,' cried the King. One poem after another was written to her. The King began to compare Lola with all the women he had known, above all with that Italian who had once so enchanted and then disappointed him. Tann was the first to receive the poem 'To my passionately loved Lolita.'³

'Self-love thou canst not know, fragrant and tender floweret;
Gentle thy loving heart, loyal in thine uprightness.
Happiness seeking for him whom thou lovest thou findest thine own,
And the Beloved knows himself loved, yet fain would hear it
repeated. . . .

A savour of heavenly bliss, then a sea of bitter despair
Did Italy bring me. Happiness, gladness alone
Hast thou bestowed, enchanting and constant companion. . . .
In Spain's daughter alone found I my perfect love. . . .'

With increasing anxiety Abel and the clerical circles around him realized the enormous influence which this stranger was exercising on the feelings, character, and intelligence of the King. It would have to be countered at all costs. Ministers, high Church dignitaries, also the Austrian Minister and strongly Catholic society ladies met and discussed how to open the eyes of the deluded monarch and to encompass the downfall of Lola Montez. It was decided to convince the King of the infidelity of the Spanish lady and at the same time to describe the disastrous effect the affair was having on the country. A woman named Ganzer in Lola's service was induced to keep a diary of her mistress's every movement. When the notes, for the truth of which of course nobody would be able to vouch, had reached fairly large dimensions and insidious character, Ganzer was to be smuggled in to the King and, falling on her knees, to hand him the diary. After these preliminaries, Count Seinsheim, as an old and trusted friend, was to visit the King and induce him to give up Lola. The plan

¹ Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*.

² To Lola Montez, a long poem, published several times, at full length by Eduard Fuchs, *Ein vormärzliches Tanzidyll*, p. 177.

³ *In Beziehung auf Lolita und . . .* (meaning Mariannina). Munich H.A.

was put into effect but ended in complete failure. The King's nerves were in a terrible state, vacillating between highest rapture over this lovely woman and deepest humiliation at the contempt in which this beloved person was held by the world. He felt the onslaught on his happiness and the interference in his private affairs so bitterly that he could scarcely control himself and again took refuge in a letter to Tann to whom he could pour out his heart.¹

'On 5th December, in the early morning, one of the women attached to Lolita's household entered my apartment. With a cry that Lolita was false to me, she handed me a mass of writing. In my despair I fell on my knees, my hands clasped, tears pouring from my eyes. This woman urged me to part from Lolita—never to see her again. This I could not possibly do, I told her. Fortunately my deepest feelings triumphed; appearances were against my darling, but she was innocent. Disfigured, pale, eyes red with weeping, I went to General von Heideck . . . without anger, without violence, without the slightest feeling of revenge, but in the deepest sorrow. I saw the years which I still have to live stretched desolate before me. As Heideck was not well, he begged Lola to come to him and she wished to await me there. . . . He, also believing her guilty, told her to throw herself on my mercy, but she, conscious of her innocence, would not hear of such a thing. She was terrible, a Medea, she treated me with the formality due to a king, speaking in a distant manner in French. She told me she would leave Munich, leaving behind everything she possessed. After she had spoken for some time—her words were knife thrusts in my heart, but even more so her tone—she demanded that Heideck should leave us. We sat next to each other, spoke . . . Spanish in an intimate manner, tears flowed from her eyes, we were reconciled, she will not leave me. Even if all the accusations had been true and she had confessed them penitently, I would have forgiven her everything, so passionately do I love her.'

Hardly had the King's nerves calmed down when the second part of the programme was undertaken. Count Seinsheim appeared, also with a copy of the diary, and begged the King earnestly to give up his friendship with Lola. But he was equally unfortunate. The well-meant attempt was a complete failure.

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 27th December, 1846. Archives of the Tann family.

Seinsheim, who knew his King so well, should have advised against approaching the matter in this way, thereby challenging Ludwig's obstinacy, which grew greater whenever he felt attempts were being made to interfere in his private affairs or his duties as king. The incident provoked a great crisis in the King's mind. 'The whole matter was handled in the most maladroit manner possible,'¹ Count Bernstorff informed his King.

The plan failed and Lola Montez had found it an easy matter to exonerate herself in the eyes of her adorer. Her position was even strengthened—but amidst storms which shook Ludwig to the very core. 'I hope I may never suffer again what my poor heart suffered last Saturday the 5th (a day which I will never forget to the end of my life) and what my darling Lola suffered. They tried to tear us asunder for ever.'²

Although this great attack had failed, numerous other smaller ones followed. The actress D. repeated the most 'abominable' slanders about Lola Montez. She had believed her Spanish rival had already fallen into disfavour, but triumphed too soon. Ludwig endeavoured to remove her from Munich and offered her money for a journey to Italy. She, however, refused it and persevered in her hostility to Lola Montez. By degrees every one was forced to take sides for or against this woman. Ludwig himself admitted it: 'Very few, but still some, are on her side.' Everyone who spoke against her was threatened with the King's lifelong displeasure. With uneasiness Karoline Auguste, who had always been so fond of her brother, watched the threatening developments of this latest love affair. The Empress reproached her brother, warning him to give up this unfortunate liaison, but this time he refused to listen even to her. According to Metternich, he answered: 'Let each busy himself with his own concerns. Everyone should know me well enough to be convinced that I will not tolerate any interference in my affairs.'³

The King became aware that enmity to Lola was increasing in the Ministry, among police officials, and in clerical circles. He had realized before this that Abel's principles were too Catholic for a country with differing creeds and that they were bound to lead to an impossible situation. But now, indignant over the treatment

¹ Graf Bernstorff, Confidential Report to *Freiherr von Canitz*, Munich, 14th December, 1846. Secret Prussian Archives, Dahlem.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 8th December, 1846. Tann family archives.

³ Fournier: *Historische Studien und Skizzen, Lola Montez und der Regierungswechsel in Bayern 1847*, p. 314.

meted out to Lola Montez, which he regarded as an insult to the person of the King, he decided to take action and to remove everything connected with ecclesiastical matters and education from Abel's jurisdiction. 'You, my dear Tann, are the only person besides Abel . . . whom I am informing of this at the moment, but by to-morrow the town will be full of it. (I should not be surprised if this were not attributed to poor Lolita.)'¹

Ludwig still kept on his Minister, but the King had no peace. Lola Montez knew what a tremendous influence she possessed over the King and her self-importance grew in proportion. It could in fact scarcely be called self-importance any longer, it was already an impudent resistance to order and custom. She continually came into conflict with private persons and officials. The King, in the last instance, always found himself forced to intervene with his own authorities on behalf of the dancer, who had become arrogant by reason of her power and had adopted some entirely unauthorized standpoint. At this time the police sent a written warning to Lola Montez regarding some minor infringement of the law. What did she do? She tore up the paper before the eyes of the bearer and threw it at his feet and then went to the King and complained. Ludwig wrote to the Chief of Police, *Freiherr* von Pechmann: 'Do not be so particular with Lola Montez; our Bavarian regulations are new to her.' The official felt that his dignity had been slighted and realized that if he gave in he would forfeit all respect. He therefore handed the matter over to the City Court, knowing full well that under the Constitution the King could not interfere there. Whereupon he was immediately transferred to Landshut. '*Freiherr* von Pechmann has only himself to blame for this,' commented Ludwig.² 'It is time that the servants of the State learnt that they cannot with impunity oppose their King and neglect the consideration that is his due.'

'In the forty-eight years I have spent in Munich I have never known it like this,' the King complained to Tann in irritation,³ 'and it certainly does not make a good impression. How different everything has become since my father's death. He was no ruler, but they would never have shown him the lack of consideration which they have shown in my personal affairs; they would never have dared to act like this to him. Those of my family who are

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 12th December, 1846. Tann family archives.

² Note written on Abel's letter, Munich, 22nd December, 1846. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 28th December, 1846. Tann family archives.

here are behaving very well, the Queen particularly so; I appreciate it and love her. But the Jesuit Party, at least that portion of it which is led by Ministers Senfft and Pallavicini, and the tribe of pious women *par excellence* are angry with Lolita, who is a Catholic but a professed enemy of the Jesuits; that, of course, is an unforgivable sin. . . . Even my sister, the Dowager Empress of Austria, is being incited to use her influence, but that, I need hardly assure my dear Tann, is useless. With all their intrigues they have succeeded in effecting exactly the opposite to what they desired and there you will recognize my character. The young old Ludwig.'

From afar Tann apprehensively watched all these developments. This faithful friend had promised his King always to report what was being said about him and latterly that had become an extremely unpleasant duty. Amongst other things it was said that the Queen was crying her eyes out and wished to leave Munich, but that her husband would not let her go . . . and there was a good deal more in the same strain. At that distance Tann could not judge matters so clearly. His love for the King made him rather inclined to consider that all those who raised their voices against Lola Montez and the preference shown her by the King were malicious and disloyal. He therefore at first advised Ludwig to treat such persons with 'silent disdain, one of the best inventions against insolent stupidity'. He perceived behind all this not only clerical machinations, but also the work of revolutionaries intent on undermining the King's prestige.

Efforts to free the King from the toils of his passion continued. On New Year's Day, 1847, a Saxon nobleman¹ came to the King. 'Lolita and I believed him to be one of our adherents,' Ludwig exclaimed. This man was a Protestant but spoke as if he were a tool of the Jesuit party. He pressed the King 'most urgently' to separate from Lola Montez. 'Your Majesty, there is tremendous commotion in Munich. If you could bring yourself to take this decision, you would stand revealed as one of the greatest of men, as each must be who has gained the victory over himself.'

'Lolita shall see what a true Teuton heart really is,' was the King's answer. All persuasion was in vain. That same day this man visited Lola Montez. She knew nothing of what he had said to the King and received him. 'Go to Italy and leave the King,' he counselled her. 'I offer you an income of 50,000 francs a year for your life.' But the proud beauty coldly dismissed him.

¹ Probably Bernhard August of Lindenau, a retired Saxon diplomat.

'That is love confirmed,' the King cried enthusiastically on hearing of it. 'She would not leave me even if pistols were pointed at her heart, and this whilst she is here being treated shamefully as if she were a pariah.'¹

This attempt only strengthened the King in his resolve to enforce his will. He refused to consider the matter reasonably, and the 'perseverance' of his motto turned to stubbornness. He became steadily more pledged to his untenable position.

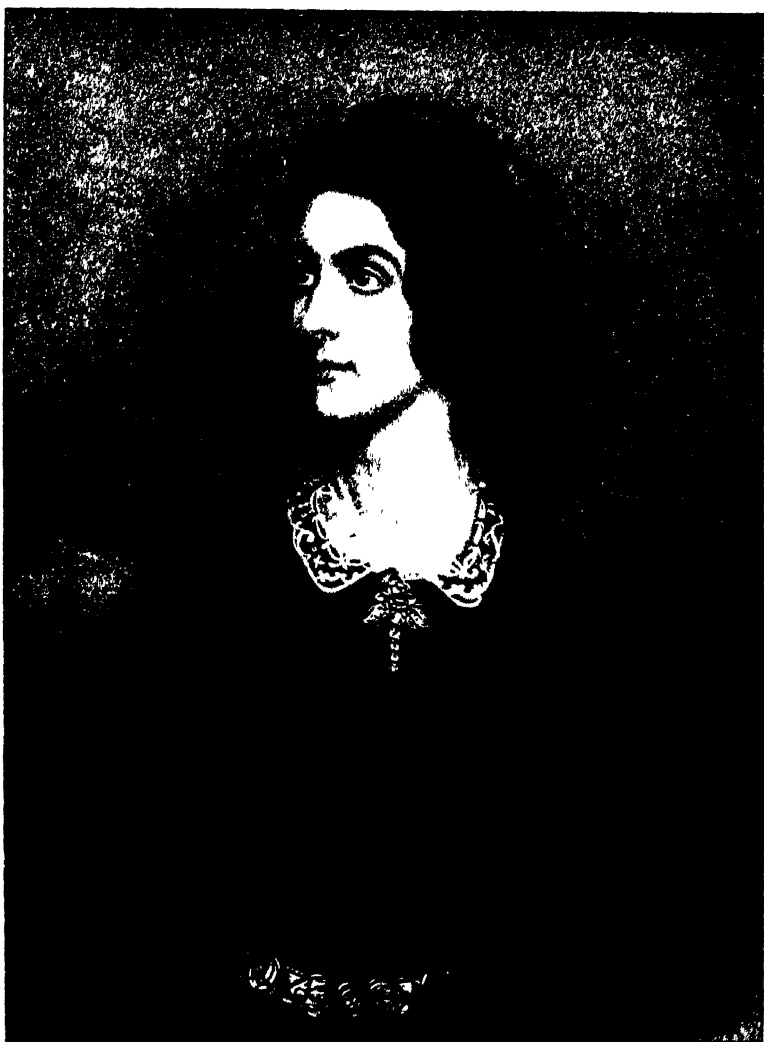
The sittings of the two painters, Stieler and Kaulbach, continued. The former painted the dancer in her decorous black silk dress, with great charm and an almost innocent expression. Kaulbach, to whom the King had given *carte blanche*, produced a totally different version. He wished in his picture to bring out something of the untamed turbulence of this woman, and of the persecution to which she was exposed. A serpent girdled her waist, and on the clasp of the belt was a skull. Her hair was loose, she had a riding whip in her hand, and she was portrayed mounting the scaffold. This conception was too realistic for the King. He realized the significance and compelled the painter to remove the accessories. It was evident that Kaulbach was also hostile to the dancer and his painting remained in the studio and was never accepted.²

In spite of past failures, attempts to make the King change his mind continued. On 29th January, 1847, Archbishop M. von Diepenbrock sent the King a most frank letter. This high dignitary of the Church presented the matter as though the spirit of Sailer, whom Ludwig had once so greatly revered, were speaking to the King: 'Be courageous and write what I tell you,' the Archbishop as in a dream was supposed to have heard the late Bishop say. 'King Ludwig, there grows a poison tree beside you, which with its deadly fumes is stupefying you and blinding your eyes, intoxicating your senses and inflaming your heart, so that you do not see the abyss which yawns at your feet, threatening your honour, your reputation, the happiness of your family, of your country, your life and your soul's salvation.'³ The Archbishop spoke of devilish arts, of sinful lips, of the magic of hell, of royal stumbling-blocks; he reminded the King of his age and the no longer so distant end of all earthly pleasure and magnificence. He warned the King not to let his name be coupled with those of

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 6th January, 1847. Archives of the Tann family.

² See Josepha Dürck, *Erinnerungen. Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, November, 1904.

³ Copied from the Stieler Archives, Augsburg.



LOLA MONTEZ—1847.
Portrait by J. K. Stieler.

the French Ludwigs, meaning thereby their mistresses and their behaviour. 'King Ludwig, awake from your delirium and be a man; throw off the magic bond, uproot the poison tree, tread the serpent under foot. Reassure, comfort and satisfy your poor people. Give yourself back to them, give yourself back to your own family; let not your noble heart be stolen from your country, from your dear ones, from the noble Queen, by this miserable, ill-famed paramour.'

That was too much. The King was deeply incensed but yet defended himself. He answered the Bishop's letter immediately and even embarked on the most delicate explanations: 'Appearances are deceitful. I have never cared for mistresses and do not now. But friendships I have nearly always enjoyed—wherever the fancy took me—and they were my best protection against sensuality. . . . I give you my word of honour that for the past nine months¹ I have had no intercourse with any woman, either with my wife or any other. The scandal is only in appearance. I ardently desire to find a possible means of proving to the world that in reality there is no scandal. I cannot break off the friendship; in that case I would cease to respect myself. You must not ask of me what is impossible.'² Ludwig gave the Dean of the Munich Cathedral a copy of this answer with instructions that all the Bishops in the kingdom were to be informed of its contents. Immediately it became known to others besides the Bishops, and soon everyone was talking about it. Lola Montez for her part confirmed and repeated continually that her relations to the King were purely Platonic.

In several respects this letter was a startling document. There was no doubt that what the King said was true, for everyone who knew his character knew also that he never deliberately lied. He had not been obliged to make a statement in such a delicate matter, and there had therefore been no necessity for him to give his word if he could not do so with a clear conscience. It would take too long to examine all the reasons for this action. It was said of Lola Montez that this was not the first time—but that in the case of younger and physically more attractive men she had

¹ Other versions state four and five months.

² Answer of the King to Diepenbrock, Prince Archbishop of Breslau, dated 9th February, 1847. The original letter is not available, and the quotation is taken from a copy in the Munich H.A. See also Fournier, *Historische Studien und Skizzen*, p. 317; and a letter from Gustav Kolb to *Freiherr von Cotta* in Herbert Schiller's *Briefe an Cotta vom Vormärz bis Bismarck*, p. 155, Stuttgart, 1934.

coquetted and gently led them on the highest pitch of desire only to turn upon them suddenly with cold arrogance and refuse them all favours. Precisely with persons who are well aware of their own worth but who are at the same time extraordinarily susceptible, action of this sort is often more effective than compliance. The more Lola Montez saw that this treatment increased her power, the more she adhered to it, and this may have been so in the case of the King, for the outward appearance of this ageing man would have made the matter easy. Lola Montez realized only too well the opposition that her conduct was arousing everywhere else. This accounted for her continual efforts to chain as many persons as possible to her triumphal chariot, amongst them a certain *Freiherr* von Maltzahn, whom she wished to bring from Paris to Munich. She had met him in Baden-Baden and had captured him *en passant*. Maltzahn had been an officer and Lola Montez induced the King to appoint him his aide-de-camp. The rôle he was to play was quite evident; he was to support his former acquaintance. This pleasant and elegant cavalier, simultaneously with the urgent letters from Lola Montez and the King inviting him to come to Munich, received news from all sides concerning the lady's conduct. He had, in addition, heard much concerning her past life of which, during their fleeting acquaintance, he had had no idea. His eyes were suddenly opened regarding the part he was expected to play. When, after the King's fifth letter, Maltzahn realized that he could not avoid coming to clear up the matter, he made his decision. He had no intention of playing an impossible part; he was received in audience and, contrary to Lola Montez's expectations, he entreated Ludwig I, although without reference to the lady's former life, not to forfeit the love of his people for her sake. The result was that his appointment was cancelled and he left Munich in disfavour.

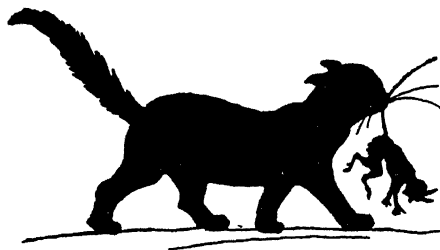
The news of this interview spread like wildfire throughout the town. The story was embellished, according to Tann's report,¹ by the statement that the *Freiherr* had given the King documentary evidence that three hundred francs was the former price for the favour of the Montez. 'Von Maltzahn spoke no word against Lolita's conduct in the said interview,' replied the King indignantly. 'She is terribly maligned. The more hostile their conduct towards her, the more firmly they chain me to her.'²

¹ Tann to Ludwig I, Tann, 5th February, 1847. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 11th February, 1847. Archives of the Tann family.

Ludwig I, however, was most indiscreet. He did not hesitate to show to all kinds of people his love poems to Lola Montez. The result was that they were seized upon and printed and distributed throughout the country. Numerous copies were showered upon Tann, including those verses which the King had himself sent him in his letter of 2nd December, 1846. 'I cannot suppress my conviction,' declared loyal Tann with justice,¹ 'that such matters belong to the sacred realms of love and not to a public which passes judgment upon the poems so unworthily.' The more the matter became known, the greater the number of efforts made to bring the King back to a more sensible line of conduct. But from whatever side these attempts came, all were doomed to failure.

There were many who tried different methods, as for example Moritz von Schwind, who attempted in a very transparent satirical fable to tell of a little mouse which was spared by a cat and taken into the latter's service.



(Once upon a time there was a beautiful black cat whose name was Mausbeisia, and one evening it caught a little mouse.)

But the mouse was really a devil incarnate. One day 'the little mouse threw off its mask, grinned as it flourished a whip over the cat and drew it into a net from which there was no escape'. Underneath a shadow picture, representing the devil at the end dragging the cat to misfortune, the moral was written: 'Take no devil into your house, however small, for he will master you in the end and bring you to ruin.'²

¹ Tann to Ludwig I, Tann, 5th February, 1847. Munich H.A.

² *Fliegende Blätter*, No. 73 of the year 1847.



(One dark night a terrible cry was heard coming from the mouse's house and it was said that a horrible ghost, which some declared to be the devil himself, had dragged the cat along through the air with him.)

MORAL

Take no devil into your house, however small, for he will master you in the end and bring you to ruin.)

'We are both shown in the *'Fliegende Blätter'* as cat and mouse,' remarked the King. 'I can laugh at it. No one was able to make the cat do as much as that little mouse did, it is true, but the former did not do half as much as the latter wished.'

Ludwig felt a real need to speak and write unceasingly about the things that claimed his attention, and this accounted for the almost daily letters to his friend Tann. The King had not seen him since he had met Lola Montez and rather over-estimated his approbation of the matter. 'With Tann I like discussing my darling Lolita who assures me that I was the first for whom she felt a passionate love, and this she could only feel for a man whose genio surpassed her own. She told me how much she loved me for I was the only man before whom she had felt timid and shy.'¹

During this time a number of demonstrations against the King's attitude were made by the Church. The Archbishop of Munich, an energetic, conservative man, was invited to a Court Ball but did not appear. He stated he considered his position was not in keeping with such functions. As this reason had not prevented him attending previous balls, the King understood what he meant. He therefore gave up inviting this Prince of the Church to dinner and had him informed that he resented his absence. 'It is sheer ingratitude of a man who owes everything to me. He has opposed me threefold—threefold, I tell you, for he is one of those who has

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 3rd February, 1847. Tann family archives.

intrigued the most against Lolita; he attacks the man, and the King.' Tann, being a Protestant, joined in condemning the Archbishop: 'The Germans say: beware of bulls from the front, of horses from behind and of priests from all sides.'¹

Added to everything, Ludwig I daily found a number of anonymous letters on his writing-table, amongst them one day one from Regensburg with the inscription: 'For the King's own hands.' It contained a lampoon in the form of a curse on Ludwig and Lola calling them 'libertine' and 'monster' respectively, in the true cowardly manner of an anonymous writer.

Such things made the King angry. Bernstorff considered that his irritability was 'frightful'. At the sittings with Kaulbach in particular he declaimed in the strongest words against the aristocracy, Jesuits, hypocrites, and the entire clerical party. Abel adopted a waiting attitude both towards the King and in public, but was nevertheless the prime mover in all attempts to separate the King from the lady. He now played his trump card. Pope Pius IX was approached. On the 9th of February he wrote to Ludwig from Rome²: 'Up to the present the King of Bavaria has always been a firm pillar of the Catholic Cause. After hearing, however, that Our Beloved Son has strayed from the paths of virtue We realize that, owing to a great and far-reaching change, this support has rotted and is bringing shame and disgrace on the Catholic cause instead of help and honour. Considering all this carefully, we admonish Our Dearly Beloved Son Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, and entreat him by virtue of Our Office to return to the path of righteousness and honour and not to tarnish the renown handed down to him by his forefathers, who were great in all things but particularly in the Catholic Religion.' In spite of these words, the Pope gave the King the apostolic blessing at the end of his letter, but this was not able to sweeten its bitter tone. The effect was the same as in all other attempts. Even the Holy Father's words passed unheeded. The only result was that Ludwig's bitterness, rage, and indignation against everything clerical knew no bounds.

Lola Montez, whose nationality rights had never been established, had no papers. She now suggested to the King that he should procure her Bavarian nationality. The thought at the

¹ Tann to Ludwig I, Tann, 7th February, 1847. Munich H.A.

² Pope Pius IX to Ludwig I, Rome, 9th February, 1847. A translated copy from the Munich H.A.

back of her mind was that he might then be able to give her a title and high rank, and by these means facilitate her appearance at Court and acceptance in Society. Lola longed for the time when she could force those who now cut her to include her in their social circle. King Ludwig brought up the question of the proposed naturalization, but met with opposition from all the authorities. He carefully inquired into the matter to see whether he was empowered to carry out such a step himself and found nothing to prevent him if he had first heard the opinion of the *Staatsrat*.

Lola Montez in the meantime did nothing to render the authorities agreeable to the naturalization, and incidents continued to take place both in private and in public. One day she and those attached to her were watching some dancing in the Hotel '*Zum Goldenen Hirschen*'. After hostile outcries a regular fight ensued amongst the guests, some of whom sided for and others against her. Lola Montez boxed people's ears right and left. With difficulty she was rescued from the crowd by two Englishmen and some gendarmes. At four o'clock in the morning she sent a complaint to the King and at five the King, accompanied by a doctor and the Chief of Police, appeared at her house.¹

Ludwig was well aware of what was being said amongst the upper classes, and he knew who vociferated most loudly. No matter who it might be, the King took the first opportunity of letting that person feel his anger. Such an experience awaited an Englishman named Bridgeman, a cousin of Lord John Russell, who had married a Countess Toerring and wished to settle in Munich. As Lola Montez declared he had insulted her, he received an order to leave the town within twenty-four hours and the English Minister had the greatest difficulty in arranging matters amicably.

On 6th February a scene occurred in the open streets when Lola Montez, who had quite remarkable courage, again boxed somebody's ears, but then had to seek refuge in her house, which was surrounded by a shouting, menacing crowd. All this did not hinder the King in his efforts for her naturalization, which, if it could not be arranged in any other way, would be granted by the King's own Royal Favour. At a meeting of the *Staatsrat* on 8th February it was stated that it was not even possible to ascertain the lady's real name, whether she was single or married, Spanish or English,²

¹ Graf Bernstorff to *Freiherr* von Canitz, Munich, 6th February, 1847. Secret Prussian State Archives, Dahlem.

² See Graf Otto von Bray-Steinburg. *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 29.

and under such circumstances the granting of naturalization papers would be illegal. *Staatsrat* Maurer went so far as to affirm that it would be 'the greatest calamity that could befall Bavaria'. Count Bray, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and of the Imperial House, laid the minutes of the Session before the King. Ludwig I, however, merely noted on the document: 'Munich, 10th February, 1847. My decision is to be carried out immediately and without argument.' Then a memorandum on a small scrap of paper was attached: 'The monarchist principle is in force in Bavaria. The King commands and the Ministers obey. If any one of them considers it against his conscience, he should lay down his portfolio and cease to be a Minister. The King will not be dictated to concerning what he may or may not do. What I have already told older Ministers, I repeated to the younger ones. Ludwig.'¹ Thereupon Bray placed the decree before him and at the same time handed the King his resignation, which was accepted without hesitation, although only in the form of a temporary four months' leave. All the other Ministers, even those who had nothing to do with the naturalization question, now resolved on a mass protest to the Monarch.

The question of the naturalization of Lola Montez then assumed the character of a major State affair. Abel himself drew up a memorandum² to the King, which was signed also by *Freiherr* von Gumpenberg, the Minister of War, Seinsheim, and von Schrenck. In agitated and ill-chosen terms it brought home to the King that the incidents in connection with Lola Montez formed practically the sole topic of conversation in the country and exposed the King of Bavaria to the most derogatory attacks. 'National feeling is deeply wounded,' the memorandum went on, 'because Bavaria considers she is being ruled by a foreigner who, on account of her reputation, is condemned by public opinion.' Finally mention was made of the tears of the Bishop of Augsburg and the unfavourable criticisms of foreign countries, and it was declared that the matter would not fail to react unfavourably on the loyalty of the army, so that it was a question affecting the welfare of the Kingdom. If, however, the King would not listen any more to the Ministers, they humbly submitted their resignations.

The memorable document was exactly the opposite to what it

¹ Bray, p. 30.

² Abel's Memorandum, dated 11th February, 1847. Often published, for instance, by Sepp, p. 861; Bray, p. 33; and in newspapers and magazines, etc.

should have been to have any success with a man of Ludwig's character. Even the foreign Ministers condemned the document. 'It is very disrespectful, badly composed and worthy of condemnation from every possible point of view,' wrote the Frenchman¹; and the English representative told Palmerston²: 'I am at a loss to understand how any men of common sense could for a moment have indulged in the supposition that the portrait of a weeping bishop, however pathetic, could make any impression on the King's mind . . . but the most extraordinary part of it is that in which a sort of menace is conveyed, that in case of need the armed force will refuse to do its duty. . . . A more melancholy picture of the manner in which the government of this country has been conducted, or more condemnatory of their own system by the ex-Ministers themselves can hardly be drawn.'

The effect on Ludwig was as might have been expected. Indignant and enraged, he cried out: 'I will not be dictated to by these Ministers!' The King replied only to Abel and gave him twenty-four hours to consider the withdrawal of the memorandum. On the evening of the 12th, the King received another letter from the Archbishop who 'made hell hot for him'. 'It is Easter,' ran the letter, 'and as I am entrusted with the Cure of Souls my duty bids me, at this time particularly, to see that everyone prepares himself to receive the Easter sacrament worthily. I warn Your Majesty as it is my sacred duty to do.'³

Nothing was of any avail. The King did not reply. He believed he had found the solution—a conspiracy was being hatched against him by the priests.

The twenty-four hours for reconsideration had passed. 'Abel persists in his course,' Ludwig wrote to Tann.⁴ 'He will receive his dismissal. The Jesuit rule is broken. Up to this moment Lolita knows nothing about the matter. . . . Things have come to a pretty pass when there is a question whether the King or the Jesuit Party is to rule. . . . According to information which has come to hand it appears that the Jesuit Party is spreading the report that Lolita is in league with the devil and has given me a love potion. . . . The Queen continues to behave admirably.'⁵

¹ Baron de Bourgoing to Guizot, Munich, 21st February, 1847. Chroust, V, 235.

² Mr. Milbanke to Palmerston, Munich, 26th February, 1847. Public Record Office, London.

³ Archbishop Karl August, *Graf von Reisach*, to Ludwig I, Munich, 12th February, 1847. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 13th February, 1847. Tann family archives.

⁵ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 15th February, 1847. Tann family archives.

Ludwig I could not calm himself: 'That Ministers who owe me so much, some of whom are friends of my youth, who make a great parade of their loyalty, call themselves monarchists *par excellence*—that they could act in such a manner! That they should know me so little!'

Tann was alarmed: 'Your Majesty's news was certainly very startling, too startling for me,' he replied to the royal master. The resignation of the Ministry made a deep impression in Catholic circles. It had not been possible, it appeared, to remove the insolent foreign dancer, in spite of the intervention of the Pope, the Archbishop, and all the Ministers. On the contrary, they had to go—and Lola triumphed. It was reported to Berlin that the Ultramontane of highest rank in Bavaria, Count Arco-Valley, had declared at a large gathering that the King would have to be placed under ward. Even if this statement were not actually made, it represented the opinion of most of his party. But it was a fact that the Count had promised the poor of Munich the sum of five thousand gulden, to be paid out on the day the King broke with Lola Montez. The foreign dancer did not keep silent in the face of this promise. She had raged against the Archbishop of Munich verbally and on paper, and she now threatened to do violence to Countess Arco-Valley at the first opportunity.

Loyal Tann, far away in his distant castle, grew more and more disturbed. Where in the name of Heaven would all this lead? At first he had regarded it as one of the King's little adventures like so many others, but now the affair was developing into a State crisis which might have the most dire consequences for his royal master: 'When Your Majesty told me, at the beginning, of the relationship with Lola Montez I was sincerely pleased that Your Majesty had another of those cheerful interludes—for life without love is not possible for Your Majesty. I did not suspect that what I regarded as a pretty comedy would develop into a tragedy.'¹

Tann confessed to his King that he was very sad about the latest news: 'Yes, I am not ashamed to admit that I wept that my King should be so hurt. Unfortunately, truth is not always plausible and the world sometimes refuses to be convinced. Two circumstances oppose this: First, there are very few who can credit Platonic love between a virile Prince, known as a lover of the fair sex, who has a wife of fifty-five, and an enchanting, warm-blooded

¹ Tann to Ludwig I, 17th February, 1847. Munich H.A.

girl of twenty-two. I would not myself were not your word sacred to me and had I not the good fortune to know Your Majesty so well. Secondly, the bad reputation of Lola Montez, which did not originate, as I at first thought, in Munich—even if it has been exaggerated and exploited there—but which she brought with her.' Owing to the indisputable fact of Lola's bad reputation, Tann considered it of urgent importance to discover if there were any truth in the statement that her favours were to be had for money, and whether she had ever been expelled on account of her behaviour. 'Before she came to Munich she did not owe it to Your Majesty to be strictly moral. Whether she had fallen before can be a matter of indifference to Your Majesty. But in the eyes of the world it is another matter. No power on earth can force respect—any compulsion is a miserable affair, and in the case of any alleged public character, the general opinion is that respect must be refused.'

The King's friend considered that, as matters now stood, there was no present possibility of separating the King from Lola Montez, therefore he continued: 'Even were the accusation well founded, that still would be no reason for Your Majesty to agree to a separation, at which I do not aim. I consider that impossible in every respect (both in character and passion) and I am certainly the last person to wish to see Your Majesty unhappy.' But Tann was quite convinced that the presumption of the lady, and her habit of involving the King in her affairs, were bound to increase the indignation of those concerned and of public opinion: 'Your Majesty's anger grows in proportion to the bitterness, and so the one always increases the other. Where can that end, I venture to ask, with a very anxious but loyal heart. . . . Cannot Your Majesty enjoy your happiness quietly, without a flourish of trumpets?'

When the King declared that both he and Lola Montez were better than their reputations, Tann was ready to accept this statement as far as his King was concerned as an article of faith more sacred than the Bible. With regard to Lola Montez he could only hope that it was true. The loyal friend considered that she took too little trouble to refute the slanders which fastened on to her name. Women in particular must not sit with their hands folded if there were any possibility of washing themselves white.

It was quite useless to talk of secrecy at this time, it was much too late for that. It is probable that things would never have

reached such a pass if Lola Montez had kept quiet and had not constantly irritated the people, if she had contented herself with the King's favour and had not tried at all costs to play both a social and political rôle, above all, if she had not taken her revenge with the utmost violence on anyone who offered even the slightest criticism.

The King continued to defend his lady against everyone, even against Tann: 'Lolita was never to be had for money and, I add, she is incorruptible. Not only does noble blood flow in her veins (her father belonged to the aristocracy though not of such high rank as her mother, who was a Countess) but she has also a noble proud spirit. She is a target for slander. Letters purporting to come from her are in circulation here. My son Adalbert showed me one yesterday containing an offer to teach him Spanish, but expressed in a manner designed to lead to other conclusions. . . . I make very few appointments and those minor ones at Lolita's recommendation. Even the anarchists would not act in the way the so-called monarchists in this country are acting at present.'¹

Ludwig became more obstinate than ever. After the dismissal of the Ministers he felt bound to give his son, the Crown Prince, some explanation. 'It is nearly forty-eight years since I came to Munich, but I have never yet seen it like this. It requires your father's iron firmness of character to enable the King to be King and prevent others from ruling. It will prove of value to you and your son. I have never yet sacrificed a Minister but have also refused to be dictated to by Ministers. They were firmly convinced I would come to heel, and without them I would lose both my crown and my life.'² 'You know,' he wrote to Tann, 'it was not I who dismissed them—they dismissed me.'³ In the meantime Ludwig looked around for new men. Abel thought he would not find any, but there he was mistaken. Dissatisfaction had been almost universally felt with the principles of the chief Minister, but it was not particularly welcome that it had been Lola Montez, and not the condemnation of the Abel Government, that had been the direct cause of his downfall, a fact which was exploited very cleverly to influence public opinion. As it was not only to be a change of individuals, but also a change of a policy which had had so many opponents, it was easier to find substitutes among men

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 22nd February, 1847. Tann family archives.

² Ludwig I to Crown Prince Maximilian, Munich, 24th February, 1847. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 25th February, 1847. Tann family archives.

who were more liberal in their views but loyal to the King. This led to the formation of the so-called Ministry of the '*Morgenröte*' (meaning the dawn of freedom) of which the two most prominent representatives were the Minister of Justice and Foreign Affairs, von Maurer, and the Minister of Finance and Religion, *Freiherr* Zu-Rhein.

The new Ministry aroused the greatest enthusiasm amongst all those sections of the country, which like the Protestants, had not been in agreement with the former policy. It was agreed that the King had made an excellent choice. 'The downfall of the arch-Catholic Abel, which two Landtags were not able to accomplish,' it was reported to Berlin, 'was achieved by one who, even if she be not frail, is yet a member of the frailer sex. While I deplore the latter I welcome the consequences with all my heart, for they are of the greatest importance, not only for Bavaria but for the whole of Germany.'¹ The English Minister, whose opinions were similar, also believed that, in spite of Lola Montez, Abel's downfall would be greeted with unbounded satisfaction in the kingdom, by Protestants and by moderate Catholics alike. What infuriated Ludwig most of all against his former Ministers was that copies of the famous memorandum exposing the King were rapidly distributed throughout the country and finally printed in the papers. The original lay well preserved in Ludwig's safe, therefore only the composers of the memorandum could be held responsible for its publication.

If the intention had been to free the King from the toils of the dancer, the method chosen this time was so unfortunate that no success could attend it. It was made possible for Abel to cloak his resignation with a semblance of virtue, but the King remained true to his lady. He was impatient to introduce her to his friend Tann, but the latter had no wish to come to Munich. The accounts he received gave him not the slightest desire to venture into the witch's cauldron himself. The King therefore invited him, as he had done so often before, to Brückenau, whither Ludwig was planning to take Lola Montez. Tann was alarmed. In spite of all his love and friendship for the King, he did not wish to have anything to do with the dancer. And what a sensation all this would cause in that small health resort! Heinrich von der Tann was well aware that his sons, like everyone else, were antagonistic

¹ *Graf* Degenfeld to *Freiherr* von Canitz, Munich, 15th February, 1847. Copy in the Munich H.A.

to the lady. What was he to do? He endeavoured to dissuade the King from his intention:

'Even if I were half dead and had to drag myself to Brückenau, I would go there, if only to show certain people that I do not side with them. But I would most earnestly beg that Lola Montez should not come there, for

'(1) it would expose her to great unpleasantness on the journey, for antagonism to her is rooted too deeply in the people.

'(2) it would strengthen the accusation of a "*régime de maîtresses*".'¹

Tann continued to relate, as he had been commanded, all the gossip, which had developed into incredible stories, and still hoped to influence the King in this way. But he was unsuccessful, and the knowledge of this gossip only embittered Ludwig still further, strengthening his obstinacy in the same way that clerical intervention had done. The innumerable threatening letters also contributed to this. 'Recently,' Ludwig told Count Bernstorff, 'someone wrote that a dynamite fuse had been laid to kill me, but I don't even mind—it makes no difference to me whatever whether I die a few years sooner or later.'

The University followed in the footsteps of the Church. A great number of strict Catholic Professors had been appointed with the King's concurrence as teachers of the High School students. One of them, named Lasaulx, a gifted man and a fanatical Catholic, moved at a Session of the Senate that the Ministers who had resigned should be tendered a vote of thanks and honour for their strong attitude they had adopted towards the Throne. That of course was directed against the King. The motion was rejected, but Ludwig at once pensioned off Lasaulx. Thereupon the professor, in a violent attack posted on the notice-board of the University on 1st March, took leave of his students. The strong ultra-Catholic students assembled and marched to their professor's house to proclaim their sympathy with his views. Suddenly there was a cry of: 'To Lola!' Howling, the students surged towards the dancer's house and on the way were joined by thousands of other excited yelling people. The troops had to be called out.

The King had just finished his midday meal and was on the point of visiting Lolita when, from his window, he noticed how unusually full the streets were. Zenetti, the Minister of the Interior, arrived to warn the King: 'A mob has gathered in front of the

¹ Tann to Ludwig I, 25th February, 1847. Munich H.A.

dancer's house. I entreat Your Majesty not to go there.' 'But who went?—I did,' Ludwig wrote to Tann.¹ 'Passing a crowd, I called out "Hats off to the King". They immediately uncovered and some cheered. They had come to see what was going on. I found the road closed by the troops. Holding myself as erect as I could, I walked into Lolita's house and shamed many by my courage; in spite of the stones (I saw some large enough to kill a man), I did not stir from the open window.' The King remained with Lola Montez in spite of the booing and whistling of the crowd which encamped in a menacing manner round the house. About seven o'clock in the evening it was reported to him that a great number of rioters had made their way to the Palace and had broken some windows below the apartments of the King and Queen. A stone had also fallen close to a magnificent malachite vase, a present from the Czar.

Immediately the King went alone on foot to the Palace, in spite of all the noise and rioting. A few made way for him respectfully and greeted him, but the crowd shouted threateningly to these persons to put on their hats again otherwise they would be stoned. Followed and surrounded by the mob, the King had to walk the long distance from the Theresienstrasse to the Palace amid demonstrations in favour of the Queen. The Chief of Police, who had hurried up to the scene, gave him his arm, but beyond that there were very few police to be seen. Ludwig I's courage was wonderful. In spite of everything, he still relied, and not in vain, upon the loyalty of the people of Munich; he arrived unharmed at the Palace and was just in time to see a theological student, who had been throwing stones, seized by the scruff of his neck. Twenty-six rioters were arrested that evening. The King was intensely vexed at this 'wanton conduct', as he called the incident. He regarded the riots as deep ingratitude, but they only intensified his resistance.

After this, six other definitely Catholic Professors were dismissed, amongst them Sepp and Döllinger. 'I can lose my crown and my life, but I cannot yield,' Ludwig wrote to the Crown Prince.² 'Never, since Munich was built, have stones been thrown at the King's apartments. That was reserved for me. The Queen (whose continually praiseworthy conduct annoys the pious persons

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 11th March, 1847. Tann family archives.

² Ludwig I to Crown Prince Maximilian, Munich, 8th March, 1847. Munich H.A.

who are anxious for connubial quarrels and strife) was on the other side of the square with Countess Deroys when the trouble started. She walked back. As if nothing had happened our small party assembled. My relations with the Queen are warmer rather than the opposite.¹

By eleven o'clock that evening everything was quiet again. If anything could strengthen the King in his opposition, it was action of this sort. Everybody, including the French Minister,² was agreed about the 'tremendous courage' the King had shown as he walked through the streets to the Palace amidst the cries of 'Down with Lola! Long live the Queen!' On that evening of 7th March there was a wild demonstration in the theatre in favour of the King. The moment he and the Queen entered their box everyone rose and there was thunderous applause throughout the theatre. Pleasantly surprised the King welcomed this 'counter-demonstration'.

Up to this time Ludwig had kept well, but now a tiresome skin disease, from which he had suffered before, began to make its appearance. This time, unfortunately, it appeared on his face and spread over his neck and chest. The King was greatly disfigured, and being confined for some time to his room, had to interrupt his visits to Lola. She, however, came every day to the Palace.

Tann realized that the affair with the dancer was developing into a European scandal. In accordance with the repeated demands of the King he dutifully repeated the 'pack of lies'³ which reached him from all over the world. For instance, Lola Montez was reported to have declared publicly: 'I intend to become a Bavarian Pompadour.' In the theatre the stage manager displeased her and she went up to him: 'You have had your post long enough.' The following day he was dismissed. She chose a horse from the royal stables. 'The Queen uses that one,' the Master of the Horse objected, and was discharged by the King. And with all that to think that the King kissed the feet of this woman!

The Austrian Minister, Count Senfft, the close friend of Abel and of the Ultramontanes, had taken sides too openly and had always sent to Vienna extremely critical reports of the King, even going so far as to say that the stranger had 'bewitched' him.

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, 11th March, 1847. Archives of the Tann family.

² Chroust, V, 242.

³ Tann to Ludwig I, 14th March, 1847. Munich H.A.

As was to be expected, the King heard from numerous quarters what was being said about him in Vienna. He attributed everything to the reports sent there by Count Senfft, and demanded his recall. Vienna had to agree, and the matter was the more significant as Senfft was a particular friend of Metternich, whose political and religious views he shared. The Chancellor even ordered him not to request an audience before his departure. The effect of the recent developments was very different in Prussia.

All this while indignation was steadily growing in Munich against the undeniably beautiful, but malicious, presumptuous, domineering, shameless stranger who flung her impudent challenge to the world. This wave of indignation was gradually becoming too much even for her, and she felt it incumbent upon her to take some step against it. On 18th March, 1847, the following statement by Lola Montez appeared in *The Times*: 'Bavaria was for a long time the bulwark of the Jesuits and Munich their headquarters. Brought up from my earliest youth to hate this party, I was greatly incensed. . . . They attempted to bribe me and offered me 50,000 francs a year if I would leave Bavaria and promise never to return. That opened my eyes. I refused their offer with indignation. Since then they have moved Heaven and earth to get rid of me and have not ceased to persecute me.' This announcement was published in agreement with the King, who took up the same attitude as the dancer had done. 'The more L. is persecuted and treated as a pariah,' Ludwig admitted to Tann, 'the more my honour commands me to stand by her.'

The Crown Prince, who had gone to visit King Otto in Athens, also agreed with the latest political changes: 'You know, my dear father, what fears I always entertained regarding the ultra-Catholic party . . . it was better for these to be unmasked before the evil had become incurable . . . they were fatal both to religion and the country. I was always loyally attached to the Church but not to that fanatical ultra-Church party which is always a disturber of the peace. You know, dear father, that it is my most earnest desire to be able to agree with you in everything, but I am also urged thereto by my filial devotion.'¹

The Queen's conduct was the most touching of all and Ludwig always recognized this afresh. One day he said to his wife: 'If I have ever sinned against you, you now have your revenge, for

¹ Crown Prince Maximilian to Ludwig I, Athens, 11th April, 1847. Munich H.A.

never has a King been so pilloried or dragged through the mud.¹

Ludwig I had almost forgotten his friend in Italy. He still wrote to her, it is true, but his letters sounded curt, embarrassed, and rather conscience-smitten. Up to this time Mariannina had only heard conflicting rumours, but it was now clear to her that the reason the King had not visited her for so many years lay with a woman whose power was infinitely greater than that of any of her predecessors. In vain she begged him to come to the south after these latest incidents, 'for Italy means healing for you, and your dear presence means the same to me.'²

The Marchesa's second husband, Waddington the Englishman, read *The Times* regularly. One day he showed his wife the announcement by Lola Montez. That was too much for her. She regarded all that was happening in Munich as a personal insult. She decided to throw discretion to the winds and in letter No. 1157 told Ludwig exactly what she thought. 'How deeply I am pained by these matters and how humiliated I feel that such a person should enjoy your confidence and kindness!' But Mariannina was even more curious than indignant. 'Are you really in love with her, and to what point has this love reached? For the sake of your honour, such a woman must be removed from Bavaria. . . . *Lieber Lodovico*, I beg and entreat you, send this dreadful woman away from you . . . If you do not reassure me on this subject, I shall lose my health and even my life. . . . As you are aware, our relations are known to all . . . and you humiliate me deeply by placing a beautiful rival of notorious reputation at your side.' But even this old friendship had no effect, and Mariannina's letters were accorded the same indignant reception as others. Ludwig answered the letters³ but his impatience was evident in every line, and it was easy to see he considered she should not interfere in matters which did not concern her. Under these circumstances he forbade his son Max to pay a visit to Perugia on his return from Greece. 'I do not wish, and I have my reasons, that you should accept the invitation of Countess Baccinetti-Waddington.'⁴ Mariannina was angry and a fresh campaign against Lola Montez

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 30th March, 1847. Tann family archives.

² This and what follows is in Mariannina's letters Nos. 1153, 1157, 1160, 1161, 1162, and 1163, from Perugia, 6th March, 4th, 7th, 21st, and 26th April, and 7th to 16th May, 1847. Munich H.A.

³ Letter No. 1868.

⁴ Ludwig I to Crown Prince Maximilian, Munich, 26th April, 1847. Munich H.A.

followed: 'I beg you, for Heaven's sake, never to mention me to this woman, whom I consider capable of anything. You told me yourself once that passion was dead within you . . . then you proved that you still felt affection for me, but you make a great mistake if you think I can witness without pain . . . such a fatal weakness in you. . . . I would then have no interest in you, no affection for you . . . for it is said that she bends you to her will . . . and that you are robbing yourself of your renown in the eyes of the world.'

The malicious Ghita¹ regarded the matter differently. She wrote her opinion to the King, according to which jealousy and wounded pride had overwhelmed his friend, who found it most difficult to play the rôle of the discarded mistress: 'I cannot even repeat to Your Majesty the terms of abuse and the insults which Mariannina heaps daily on Lola Montez. She has always declared and sworn that there was nothing but pure friendship between her and Your Majesty. Many laughed at this, many doubted, but some believed her. Now, by her outbursts of rage and fury, she has convinced every one that her constant reiterations . . . were untrue and that she has now been sacrificed to another woman.'

April had come to an end, but Ludwig's malady still kept him to his room. The King bore this with patience: 'My cheerfulness will outlast it, I am determined.' He only hoped that he would be well in time for his summer visit to Brückenau. 'Lolette, from whom I am inseparable, is to come there,' the King wrote, knowing that his wife was to take a cure at a watering place in Bohemia.²

In Tann's opinion, something would again have to be done to counter the numerous outbursts against Lola Montez, even though he was not sure whether they were slanders or the truth. On the whole, he was rather inclined to believe some of them. Nevertheless, he drew up the draft of a declaration which Lola Montez inserted in the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung* on 1st May, 1847: . . . 'I declare any person who dares to speak evil of me without being able to prove it to be a dishonourable slanderer.' When it was pointed out to the King why the whole world was against the lady, he replied³: 'Which of the proud women from so-called better classes would have acted differently if she had been thrown on the world young, beautiful and helpless? And is that or this

¹ Ghita M. V. to Ludwig I, Perugia, 7th and 24th June, 1847. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 28th April, 1847. Tann family archives.

³ Heigel, *Ludwig I.*, p. 271.

one really better? I know them all, and do not assess unproved virtue very high.'

Shortly after this, Lola Montez made a journey to Augsburg where, to the King's delight, she was most courteously received. Tann hoped that things would calm down and gradually adjust themselves. He believed that the more quietly things were allowed to run their course the better it would be in the end. It should be a question of complete indifference to the King¹ whether this or that person sought or avoided her society. But he had not reckoned with Lola Montez, who was furious that people cut her. She herself stirred up trouble for the new liberal Ministers because they too refused to come to her house and pay her homage, and in consequence Ludwig began to consider dismissing Maurer and Zu-Rhein. He notified his intention to his sister Karoline Auguste, who confessed that she could not quite understand another such complete change of principles, as it meant destroying his own work. But Ludwig had eyes and ears only for his friend. 'I should like,' he wrote to Tann, who was, after all, coming to Brückenau, 'to know before you meet Lola, how you picture her. Do you think she is tall or short, plump or thin, with a brown, yellow or white complexion, fair or otherwise? What colour are her eyes and hair? Write and tell me soon.'²

'I have read and received such detailed descriptions from eye-witnesses,' Tann replied,³ 'that (not to her advantage) imagination must make way for reality. Friends and enemies alike are full of her charm, particularly that of her blue eyes. Even dry Fritz Stauffenberg, who has just seen Lola in Munich, assures me that she appeared dangerous even to him. How will she affect me, the most inflammable of inflammable mortals? I am quite afraid of falling in love and making Your Majesty jealous. Perhaps, however, fear of the dog, the box on the ears, the riding whip, the dagger and the pistol will subdue love. My first request to Lola will be for a *salva guardia* against her outbursts of vehemence, which are described as illimitable. Very hot-blooded, good-hearted, hot-headed, spoilt, extremely touchy, rather frivolous and thoughtless—that is the picture I have of the charmer, and I have drawn up my plan of campaign accordingly.'

King Ludwig's bitter struggle against the rest of the world

¹ Tann to Ludwig I, 4th May, 1847. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 25th May, 1847. Tann family archives.

³ Tann to Ludwig I, Tann, 29th May, 1847. Munich H.A.

continued. His fourth volume of poems was now published, and although many of the poems throw a clear light on his character, one of them, which was published on 17th July, 1847, in No. 68 of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, created the greatest sensation. In his love Ludwig felt strong enough to take up arms even against the powers of hell and fought just as openly as his opponents. In his poem he declared his pleasure at having changed the Government policy, 'a decisive event that has destroyed the power of the ultra-Catholics for ever.' The sonnet resembles a challenge for it begins with the verses¹:

'You who my soul from Paradise have driven—
Barred fast the gates against me for all time,
Who fill with bitterness the days still mine
Yet cannot make me hate where love was giv'n.

My youthful power no less each passing year,
My constancy unbroke, and you who tried
To lead my heart in bondage, in your pride
Lie low before me humbled—full of fear.'

The reaction was twofold. Those who stood by the King through thick and thin seized the opportunity to make a demonstration in his favour. The others, however, replied with a spiteful skit entitled 'Demon Voices'²:

'That which we see you love for us too bad is;
The gates of passion still are open wide,
What though the years of youth long since have vanished?
The frailties of your youth have never died.

Of deep disgrace your thoughts were never fearful,
If common sense should e'er return again
Yourself will curse the incident decisive
Which did destroy the glory of your reign.'

The struggle now developed into a public fight in the Press whilst the whole world watched with disapproval.

The time approached for the King's summer visit to Brückenau, where his friend Tann was to join him. Tann's sons, particularly Rudolf, who had been appointed aide-de-camp to the King in April, had begged him to arrange that neither of them should be required at Brückenau. They were also most unwilling that their father should come into the circle of Lola Montez, for it was already being whispered in Munich that Tann was on the side of

¹ Original Munich H.A.

² Paraphrase of the royal sonnet, under the title *Dämonenstimmen*. By the Ultramontane Party. Munich H.A.

the dancer and strengthened the King in his stubborn attitude, although this was totally untrue. Heinrich von der Tann succeeded in his efforts with regard to his son although he could not avoid going to Brückenau himself; but he made up his mind that he would at least induce some moderation in Ludwig and advise the lady to keep within the imposed limits.

Lola Montez had begged the King earnestly to be allowed to take her large black dog to Brückenau with her. This dog did not bite dangerously, but it attacked people and tore their clothes. 'That might lead to small incidents,' the King wrote to Tann, 'which it is important to avoid.' Ludwig had refused the request, and Tann was pleased that the King appeared to be less under Lola Montez' influence, but the remainder of the letter showed him his error. In his often badly expressed German the King wrote¹: 'That a man who has never been good-looking has been able to kindle the first real love in a beauty of twenty-one, who has at the same time a marvellous intelligence—that is a pleasing feeling! I for my part have never before felt such passion as I felt in the first days of our acquaintanceship. I shall never forget how she said to me when she was being painted by Stieler: "*non puedo dexar Munic*" (I can not leave Munich). I am chained to her for life. What I feel for her I have never felt for any other.'

Count Bernstorff was quite right in his statement: 'I am firmly convinced that no human power will succeed in breaking this liaison, as long as neither of them wearies of it.'² Ludwig gave in to the most incredible demands of his lady and was himself astonished. 'What that lovely little head manages to achieve!' Nevertheless, he considered anything said against her malicious. Ludwig did not notice the contradiction, so much had love befogged his usually clear mind: 'No one has been the target for so many slanders and lies in our time as my Lolita. The more people thrust her out, the closer it chains me to her.'³

The King gave Tann instructions how he was to treat Lolita against whom 'so many infamies had been practised' in Munich: 'You must treat her as a lady . . . she has a good manner, and thinks a great deal of her noble birth . . . she is certainly of Moorish origin.'⁴

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 5th June, 1847. Tann family archives.

² Graf Bernstorff to Freiherr von Canitz, 13th July, 1847. Secret Prussian St.A., Dahlem.

³ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 10th June, 1847. Tann family archives.

⁴ Ludwig I to Tann, Munich, 14th June, 1847. Tann family archives.

Since 15th June, 1847, the Queen had been at Franzensbad, and on the 22nd the King left for Brückenau. It had been arranged that Lola Montez should travel at the same time, but Nussbaumer, a lieutenant in the Bavarian artillery and one of her warmest admirers and supporters, was ill, and she declared that she could not leave Munich until he had quite recovered. Although Ludwig was not entirely free from jealousy of this man, the beautiful woman's power was so strong¹ that she induced him to take her to the sick-bed of this young man and stay there nearly an hour and a half. Lola Montez did not follow him until the 27th, when she travelled in one of the coaches given her by the King, with the blue and white colours of the Bavarian Court and the royal arms on the door. In passing through Bamberg there was such a commotion that she had to leave hastily.

Lola dined every day at the King's table. In Brückenau Ludwig received a visit from the Crown Prince and his wife. The whole situation was discussed in detail. With pleasure the King noted that in many ways Max shared his views and in particular showed strong German feeling. 'That pleases me,' said Ludwig. He had told his son that he was considering another change of Ministers, for Lola raged and stormed ceaselessly against the present ones because they avoided her house. The Crown Prince had mentioned Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein for future consideration, but Ludwig would not agree to this unconditionally. 'I do not know,' he said to his son,² 'how Prince Wallerstein regards Lola. Do not let yourself be influenced against this greatly slandered and persecuted woman. . . . Keep the confidence you have in your father, I say *keep*, for at present you have that confidence.'

Life in this small intimate circle led to scenes between this high-handed dancer, who had lost all sense of proportion, and her royal admirer. Tann watched with horror the manner in which she treated his royal master. He made continual efforts to adjust matters, to act as mediator and to calm the beauty, but he might as well have wasted his words on the air. She became insolent to him, and her demands to the King exceeded all limits. What enraged Lola Montez most was that society ignored and despised her. Her immeasurable snobbishness led her to bring her alleged aristocratic birth ever more into the foreground and to beg the King to

¹ *Graf Bernstorff to Freiherr von Canitz, Munich, 13th July, 1847. Secret Prussian St.A., Dahlem.*

² *Ludwig I to Crown Prince Maximilian, Brückenau, 10th July, 1847. Munich H.A.*

emphasize this by elevating her to the rank of Countess. Although she knew that this would not be likely to pave the way for her acceptance in society, she nevertheless wished to be placed on a par with other titled persons. Tann would have nothing to do with the matter, and Lola grew more and more distrustful of the King's friend. She had regarded him as a reliable, submissive adherent of her cause, but when she knew him personally she discovered that this was far from being the case. This man was an enemy in disguise, and she found great pleasure in humiliating Ludwig in his presence to prove to Tann that it only required a word from her to make the King obey her order like any servant. Then one day she went too far. Suddenly the King's autocratic spirit awoke and showed itself even to her. He flared up sharply, used hard words, and left her house without bidding her farewell. Tann of course took the King's part and there was a highly dramatic scene between the indignant Baron whose health was already greatly undermined, and the passionate, covetous Lola Montez. She raved and screamed so loudly that she was heard all over the neighbourhood, and the tale was told in Brückenau that she had boxed Tann's ears. Now she was determined this man must go, at any price—but had she not also broken with the King? Oh, by no means—her power was not at an end. The King had already sent a lackey to ask how she was and whether she had not had one of her attacks of nerves. That showed her plainly how much that last scene had signified. Her power was unbroken, she would still make it felt. Nor was she wrong in her reckoning. At the same time Ludwig I had written to Tann, without knowing of his scene with Lola Montez: 'My dear Tann, the brusque tone I used to my darling Lola was brutal, I admit it. Tell her I was wrong: I was offended at the tone she used yesterday and not only yesterday—a tone contrary to her usual charming manner. That explains, but it does not excuse me. I hope she will forgive me, but also that she will treat me differently, not as her servant, but as one who loves her dearly and is her true friend. If she would like me to go and see her, she must let me know.'¹ Tann was overwhelmed. What was he to say, what was he to do? He could not bring himself to carry out the King's orders as expressed in the letter which, with tears in his eyes, he read and re-read.

In the meantime Lola Montez had decided to exercise her

¹ Ludwig I to Tann, Brückenau, 13th July, 1847, written in French. Tann family archives.

histrionic talents.¹ She sent for her travelling coach, filled it with boxes, most of them empty, and spread the news that she was leaving the place, in fact leaving the country for ever. Tann was already rejoicing, but the news also reached the King's ears and he hastened to Tann. On the way he grew absolutely desperate, for he heard that Lola Montez had ordered post horses. Tann did not know what to do with the King. His frenzy was so great it was safe to prophesy that, should Lola Montez really leave, he would immediately follow her to Frankfurt, Paris, or anywhere else. At last Ludwig went to the dancer: 'You must stay. What are you thinking of, leaving the country, leaving me?' 'There is nothing else left for me to do!' screamed Lola in reply. 'Even here I am surrounded by enemies! This Tann is just as hateful as all the others. Very well, I will stay, but only on condition that that man leaves Brückenau and my society at once.'

The following day von der Tann went to Aschaffenburg. Lola Montez had now removed the man who endeavoured, with more understanding and more psychology, to do what the others had attempted in the interests of his beloved King. He alone was successful in having a soothing effect on the King and in preventing him from many sharp measures which he would otherwise have been persuaded to take. But when Lola Montez faced him with the choice—either Tann or she must go—there was no doubt as to Ludwig's decision. Tann preferred to go of his own accord and, deeply affected, this loyal old friend left the scenes. Avoided by society, who suspected him because he had gone to Brückenau, he remained loyal to his King. Tann's health suffered terribly under the strain of these stormy times. He begged the King to leave Brückenau, even if only for a time, to show the world, which was doubtless well informed of all that had taken place there, that he was not completely submissive to the will of the Montez. After much hesitation Ludwig promised, but the power of this woman continued to outweigh every other consideration.

All these mistakes, however, led to the change of the Bavarian Ministry towards Liberalism, the beneficial results of which were acknowledged by the great men of the time.

¹ *Graf Bernstorff* to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Munich, 2nd October, 1847. Secret Prussian State Archives, Dahlem, and a second letter, undated, delivered on 16th August, 1847.

'GRÄFIN LANDSFELD'

THE 1848 REVOLUTION AND THE ABDICATION OF
THE KING

1847-8

No sooner was Tann removed than Lola Montez attempted to force the King to fulfil his promise to make her a Countess. Now or never, she thought to herself. Ludwig was away from the capital which was hostile to her, and her threat to leave the country was still fresh in the mind of her victim. The dancer also hoped that, robbed of Tann's support, he would be more willing to accede to her wishes. She knew Ludwig well, she knew the weight he attached to his word and that he would attempt to keep it, even if the conditions under which it was given had completely changed. She admonished him: 'You are a King, you gave me your hand as pledge that you would fulfil my dearest wish and I have told everyone about it; now you must keep your word. I demand it of you!' And to emphasize her wish she held over him the terrible threat of her departure.

Ludwig was well aware that this would lead to a fresh struggle. Tann had made that clear to him very often. The aristocracy, the support and bulwark of every throne, would regard such an act as an insult to their order and take a still stronger stand against the King and his lady. But there was nothing else for Ludwig to do. He was entirely under the ban of this bewitching but devilish and calculating woman. In addition, he had given his word. Very well, but Tann had been of the opinion that he ought to leave Brückenau. Yes, thought Ludwig, I will follow his advice and go to Aschaffenburg where he is staying. It will look better if I send the order fulfilling Lola's dearest wish from Aschaffenburg. If it were sent from Brückenau, every one would say: 'Well, of course, Lola Montez holds the King in the hollow of her hand!'

So Ludwig went to Aschaffenburg and from there, on 4th August, a command was sent to *Staatsrat* von Maurer: 'The rank of Countess is to be bestowed upon Señora Lola Montez. I wish to

hear no objections for I am bound to fulfil a royal promise.' ¹ Maurer was beside himself at this demand. He had the patents drawn up, but he could not forgo making the forbidden objections and ended by asking to be relieved of his post. The King answered in a manner which showed how far he had fallen, how terribly the lady had him in her clutches, and how he feared that he would no longer find anyone to accept the post of Minister. His note to Maurer sounded very dejected: 'It is not a breach of the Constitution to sign a patent of nobility; the King is not obliged to interrogate anyone when bestowing noble rank. I trust to Maurer's loyalty not to place me in the position of having to appoint another Executive Minister. I must keep my word, everything else is subordinate to that. Baron von der Tann is here but not Lola Montez who had frequently expressed the eager wish to be with me in Aschaffenburg; this in itself is proof that *she* does not rule. *Je règne et gouverne.*' ²

'I hasten to reply to Your Royal Majesty,' Maurer answered, 'that Your Majesty has not been mistaken in me and never will be. . . . The feeling in the country grows steadily worse each day. A gracious and gentle King moves me deeply . . . and his appeal to me is quite irresistible. I have therefore—difficult as it was for me in view of the serious consequences—signed the patent of nobility which I respectfully submit . . . so that everything will be completed by the 25th of this month. In the meantime, I venture once more to beg Your Royal Majesty most humbly at least to delay its completion. . . . Your royal word will still be kept! A year sooner or later can make no difference to the Señora. I feel constrained to point out once again to Your Majesty the consequences of Your Majesty's action. They will be very serious.' ³

Maurer realized with horror what these consequences would be. He and his actions were already subjected to bitter criticism which would only be intensified when the signing of such a document became known. He was anxious for his own future and for that of his son, which he begged the King to safeguard. When Ludwig received this second letter of warning his anger knew no bounds. What was the meaning of this? At the very outset he had

¹ See *Staatsrat* von Maurer to Ludwig I, Munich, 6th August, 1847. Munich H.A.

² Note made by the King on 9th August, 1847, on the memo from *Staatsrat* Maurer, dated 6th August, 1847. Munich H.A.

³ *Staatsrat* von Maurer to Ludwig I, Munich, 11th August, 1847. Munich H.A.

forbidden any objections and here was a second and more urgent letter. Was he no longer King in his own country? Was there no one left in the Kingdom to obey the King's orders? In great agitation he penned a letter¹:

'*Herr Ministerverweser* von Maurer! You are surely not attempting to induce me to break my word. If you were (although it would be impossible) you would be lost! How would I appear to my own conscience? How would the King appear to a woman to whom he had broken his word? I expect obedience, particularly from my Ministers. I await the patent of nobility, free of taxes and without delay. If you fail to obey, the result will be what you little expect, even if it leads to my own undoing. I will not give in. If, in spite of everything, you refuse your signature, I order you to send me the patent without it but complete with everything else.'

Warnings continued to pour in on Ludwig from all sides; he refused to look at his letters, for their contents were alarming. Once he received his own picture torn into a thousand pieces, another time an abusive poem. Even his most prominent paladins and artists, like Leo von Klenze, upon whom he had showered orders and honoured before the whole world, wrote to him²: 'I admit that Your Majesty has every right to such a passion. Did not Goethe himself admit to being really in love only once in his life and that with a Polish woman in Karlsbad when he was seventy-five? . . . Your Majesty was pleased to tell me yourself that your affection for the charming Andalusian—who, as I have always been told, is very witty—was a pure, poetic and intellectual one and that proof of this lay in the fact that the family relationships of Your Majesty had remained undisturbed and unprejudiced.'

But Klenze also found the object unworthy of the King's love. He knew his King very well and therefore considered it useless to advise him to give up the affair, but the architect could not resist advising the King to replace the 'evil *entourage*', in which Lola Montez had lived up to that time, by men of honour who enjoyed the King's confidence. But how was that to be done when those very men refused to go near the dancer?

With a very bad grace Lola Montez agreed to stay away whilst

¹ Ludwig I to von Maurer, a draft in the King's own handwriting, dated 13th August, 1847. Munich H.A.

² Leo von Klenze to Ludwig I, Munich, 18th August, 1847. The original is in the archives of the Tann family.

Ludwig I was arranging her elevation to the nobility. She was afraid she might lose her influence over him, particularly as Tann was at Aschaffenburg. As her urgent requests to follow Ludwig were without result, she feigned an attack of nerves, went to bed, and took good care that the King heard of her illness immediately. That, at any rate, was the interpretation given to it at Brückenau. The King wished to hasten to her at once and was only restrained with difficulty, for the patents of nobility were on the point of being published, and if he were with the dancer at this particular time the whole purpose of his absence from Brückenau would be lost. Ludwig therefore ordered the Director of the Baths at Brückenau, Dr. Martin, to look after her and to keep him continually informed of her progress. When better news of her health arrived on the 10th and 18th of August, the King was happy: 'It was a comfort to hear that my beloved Lola Montez was restored to health.'¹

On the King's sixty-first birthday the nomination of Maria Dolores de Porris y Montez to be Countess of Landsfeld was announced 'on account of her great charity to the poor of Bavaria'. 'Dear Tann,' the King wrote in defence of this step, 'It may have been unwise but I have acted as a man of honour. Having promised for more than a year and a half that I would carry it out, Lola Montez, by birth an aristocrat, receives to-day the title of Countess Landsfeld. . . . You will certainly not praise me for having made this promise, nor will you blame me for having fulfilled it. Therefore it would be better not to mention the matter to your affectionate Ludwig.'² On the following day the King wrote to his Court painter, Stieler, to change the name on Lola Montez' picture in the *Schönheitsgalerie* to Countess Marie von Landsfeld, born in Seville 1823, and not, as had been erroneously stated previously,³ 1825.

The news of the elevation in rank was received much as had been expected. There was indignation everywhere and Baron Bourgoing was particularly incensed that the rank of Countess should be bestowed upon a woman who amused herself by insulting people and even boxing their ears, whose 'abominable immorality'

¹ Ludwig I to Director Martin, Aschaffenburg, 21st August, 1847. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Aschaffenburg, 25th August, 1847. Archives of the Tann family.

³ Ludwig I to the Court painter, Stieler, Aschaffenburg, 26th August, 1847. In possession of the Stieler family.

was glossed over by the King with such extraordinary stubbornness. The aristocracy of Bavaria was outraged. The proud Prussian, Count Bernstorff, tersely expressed the feelings animating them: 'I will never, under any circumstances, agree to recognize this low person of evil repute as an equal, nor to treat her as such, in consequence of an act which constitutes the most abominable abuse of royal power.'¹

It was rumoured that Lola Montez would now be presented at Court, but there was no word of truth in this. The Queen declared that in such an event she would simply stay away. She had never agreed to the bestowal of rank or Order on the dancer. Despite her love for her husband and her forgiving nature, she always preserved her dignity in public. It was generally accepted that the elevation and naturalization were in any case illegal as they had been bestowed upon a Maria von Porris and Montez, as stated in the *Gazette* for the Kingdom of Bavaria dated 9th September, 1847, but this name was an assumed one and consequently illegal.

The King remained on at Aschaffenburg whilst the dancer returned to Munich. Her next efforts were directed towards influencing the King to compel the Ministers and members of the aristocracy to call on her. The appointment to high official posts hinged on the question whether or no the candidates would be prepared to do this.

Police reports on the general feeling were unfavourable. The students of the Catholic associations spread the wildest rumours; painful expressions were heard from the pulpit and even the attitude of the executive forces was doubtful. 'The police are inactive,' reported *Staatsrat* von Maurer, 'and with the exception of their Director and Lieutenant of Gendarmerie, Baur von Breitenfeld, not a soul appears to have any good will. On the contrary, they are all against Lola Montez, but the feeling is inspired from above.'²

Various important state affairs necessitated another Session of the *Landtag*. The elections for it practically turned on the question of Lola Montez. All who had stayed at Brückenau or had any connection whatever with the newly fledged Countess were ruled out, whilst the elections in both Chambers gave proof

¹ *Graf* Bernstorff to von Canitz, 4th September, 1847. Secret Prussian State Archives, Dahlem.

² *Staatsrat* von Maurer to Ludwig I, Munich, 21st September, 1847. Munich H.A.

of decided hostility to the clerical party and were in favour of the present moderate liberal government policy. Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein had in the meantime returned from Paris and endeavoured to get on good terms with the King in the hope of being able to bring order into the hopeless situation.

Ludwig I trembled from one Session to the other lest the Lola Montez affair should be publicly discussed by Count Arco-Valley who was the leader of the Opposition. This delegate attacked the so-called liberal Ministry which had carried out no reform work of any sort, and he made some allusions to the superiority of Abel's Ministry. In answer to that Maurer referred to the famous memorandum of the Ministers, which he considered had dragged the Kingdom through the mud. Thereupon Count Seinsheim, the King's former friend, who was now out of favour, got up: 'Our loyal conscience induced us to write as we did. What I did then I would do again to-day.' 'Very well,' was the answer, 'but at any rate you were wrong to publish such a letter.'

Although Oettingen-Wallerstein did not acknowledge himself unequivocally on the side of Lola Montez, he won the King's favour by his attitude to Maurer, on whose letter he commented: 'Truly this man treats his King in an unbecoming manner.'¹ The Prince took credit to himself that he had prevented the 'most delicate and personal relations from being so much as touched upon at the *Landtag*'. As Oettingen-Wallerstein concurred in the wishes of Lola Montez and of the King, the days of the Ministry were numbered. Rumours were already circulating in Munich that another Ministry would be formed whose members would owe their appointment exclusively to Lola Montez. 'Now we shall even have a Lola Ministry!' cried Count Bernstorff in despair.² 'I pity Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein, who thinks it necessary to lend his noble name to such a thing. Feeling is so bad that it could scarcely be worse. . . .'

High and low were agreed that Lola Montez was carrying her behaviour to even worse lengths than before. 'This woman believes she can take any liberties she likes,' Bourgoing reported. 'Herr von Maurer told me yesterday that the dancer appoints the Ministers and dismisses them. She wants to rule. A little while ago she declared outright: "The Queen is the Queen, but I rule."'

¹ Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein to Ludwig I, Munich, 6th November, 1847. Munich H.A.

² *Graf Bernstorff to Freiherr von Canitz*, Munich, 23rd November, 1847. Secret Prussian St.A., Dahlem.

She stated further that she wished to live in the Archbishop's palace in Munich and no longer in the little house the King had given her. This would soon be vacant as the Archbishop would shortly have to leave Munich for good. The King actually attempted to procure him the Cardinal's hat, so that he might be removed in this way.

Lola Montez changed her lovers and admirers as often as she changed her apparel. Nussbaumer had been dismissed for the time being, and a young nobleman, Eustach Karwawski from Russian Poland, took his place. He was only twenty-two years old, rather frivolous but daringly presumptuous. At the University, in opposition to the overwhelming number of Catholic students, he had formed a league of young adherents to Lola Montez, which, ostracized by others, went under the name of the Alemannia. Its members had access to the dancer's house and were protected by the King. The King had resumed his visits and often spent the whole evening with her and her following. Attempts were made to deport the Pole as politically undesirable, but the King prevented it. Lola took this opportunity of asking him: 'When will my presentation at Court take place? It is time to think about it seriously.'

'I doubt whether this will be possible in view of the great opposition,' answered Ludwig. Lola flew into a passion, overturned a small table at the King's feet, bit her lips and spat blood, whereupon the King left the house unnerved, saying: 'Well, we will see.' On his way home he met one of the Princes and complained of the difficulties which the nobility put in the way of all social intercourse with the Countess: 'The cursèd old women and priests will yet have to learn that the King is master. I must carry it through.' The quiet, determined, and unanimous resistance of the aristocracy remained unchanged. It was of the same character as the dignified attitude of the Queen, whom everybody admired. Therese, whilst sparing her husband as much as possible, avoided any opportunity of meeting Lola Montez thus preventing a surprise introduction. For that reason she failed to appear at a big concert of the *Liedertafel* (a choral society) on the 22nd December, which was very nationalist in character and given for the benefit of a lawyer who had opposed the Danish Government in the Schleswig-Holstein question. Shortly before the concert it was whispered that Lola Montez was coming and intended occupying a seat close to the Queen. That was reason enough for the ladies

of noble birth, with very few exceptions, to keep away from the concert. The front rows remained almost empty. The King looked round the hall and said furiously to his *entourage*: 'Just look how my aristocracy leave me in the lurch.' ¹ 'I have reason to believe,' remarked Count Bernstorff, ² 'that the King himself would be glad if a lucky chance freed him from the fetters which hold him prisoner. He feels the humiliation of his position and is ashamed of it, and his mistress makes his life so difficult that he has more vexation than pleasure from it.' The Count nevertheless considered it impossible for the King ever to gain sufficient strength to free himself.

On 30th November the Maurer Ministry was dismissed and a new one under Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein nominated. The inclusion of Herr von Berks, one of the few officials who had not shunned Lola Montez but actually belonged to her social following, and whose son was a member of the Alemannia Students, coloured the whole Ministry in the eyes of the public. It was known as the 'Lola Ministry', although the chief person, Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein, was by no means an admirer of the dancer.

The new Government had at least a popular programme, which was particularly important seeing that the barometer of the time stood at 'liberal' and in German countries particularly, national feeling was very much alive. The democratic party was gaining ground and beginning to raise its head in Bavaria. It exploited the universal discontent felt by all classes on account of the Montez affair and the weakening of the King's power consequent on the withdrawal of its most powerful supporters, the aristocracy and the clergy. Even Ludwig I now began at times to get angry with Lola Montez. The extremely dubious society she had gathered round her because she was avoided by others worried him, particularly when one of these persons gave grounds for jealousy. At the moment this applied to the Pole, Karwawski, who was playing an increasingly important part and had already come into conflict with several other men. As the Russian Embassy intervened, the King agreed to the deportation of the Pole. In this matter he again acted against the capricious will of Lola Montez, who wished at all costs to save Karwawski from his fate. The result was that on the evening of 4th December, the King was drawn into a

¹ Chroust, V, 308.

² *Graf Bernstorff to Freiherr von Canitz, Munich, 23rd November, 1847.* A private letter in the Secret Prussian St.A., Dahlem.

discussion with Lola Montez about the matter, which became so violent and loud that even the people in the house opposite could hear it. The King finally left the house at ten o'clock, but Lola followed him screaming excitedly and continued the quarrel in the street. One thing she achieved and that was that anyone who did not call her Countess Landsfeld was arrested and threatened with punishment. The newly-created Countess frequently appeared on her walks in the town with two lackeys, hitherto the exclusive privilege of the Queen and the Crown Princess. Directly anyone ventured an observation she hailed a gendarme or servant to call that person to account. The King could not be informed of these incidents nor of the more or less dubious life of the lady as he had, contrary to his former custom, forbidden any such reports, and refused to hear, know, or believe anything to her disadvantage.

Nevertheless, a certain amount reached the King's ears although Tann's letters, which formerly kept him *au courant*, were now lacking. Whilst the others abused and despised him, Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein watched with sorrow the behaviour of his Sovereign. The King's condition gave cause for anxiety, his usual cheerfulness vanished, his health suffered, and his appearance showed only too plainly the struggle raging within him. 'It is inexpressible how the King suffers,' the Prince said to Bernstorff. 'It almost amounts to a mental disease with him and I wish he met with more sympathy.'¹ And in his own heart the King said to himself: 'In the name of Heaven you are making a very grave mistake! Yes, God knows, the others were right. But can you draw back now that you have gone so very far—you who have so often declared you would be and remain master even against the whole world, and would put through your royal will?' Then, after one short hour with the seductress, all these thoughts and feelings melted into nothingness and Ludwig was once more helpless. The situation excited even the people of Munich. They had always clung loyally and steadfastly to the ideal of bourgeois integrity, and they simply could not understand a person like Lola Montez. They had been accustomed to regard Ludwig as a man surrounded by the aureole of Divine Right—as the hereditary monarch who was revered for what he had done for the town of Munich. The burghers of Munich also liked his easy manner, which was in pleasant contrast to the arrogance of so many less highly

¹ Graf Bernstorff to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Munich, 6th December, 1847. Secret Prussian St.A., Dahlem.

placed persons. And now the populace of Munich saw this their King so changed, without feeling or understanding for anybody or anything except this bewitching 'black devil, who, with her coal black hair, her black clothes and black horses, yet beautiful as a dream, stormed through Munich, with her light blue enchanting eyes and impudent manner turning everything upside down'. Yet even though they had frequent disagreements with the King, at heart their affection, in these early days of 1848, was still undiminished. Some decrees by the Ministry, such as the abolition of the censorship, for example, made a temporary good impression, but the daily spectacle of all manner of annoyances connected with Lola Montez soon wiped this out. Officials and military felt themselves between the upper and nether millstone. On the one hand, they lost their daily bread if they offended the King, and on the other they were infuriated if they had to wait on Lola Montez. And the more she felt this disdain, the more violently and passionately she demanded from her adorer that he should compel the world to do her honour. Ludwig still acceded to all her requests. The new Minister of War, von Hohenhausen, declared that he did not consider it compatible with his position to visit the dancer. One evening, therefore, the King invited him, in front of everyone, to spend the evening with him at the house in the Barerstrasse. The Minister of War nearly wept with shame and anger, and when he attempted to make excuses the King replied: 'Hohenhausen, as your King and Master, I order you to do it.'

All Munich waited breathlessly to see whether Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein, the head of the Government which they called the 'Lola Ministry', would submit to the King and visit the dancer. The Prince had no intention of doing this; he regarded the King's obsession as a real misfortune and made every possible effort to find a way of escape. In a memorandum dated 16th December, which he submitted to the King, the Prince gave an urgent warning and prophesied dire results if Ludwig I did not keep Lola Montez in check. That only resulted in her venting her burning hatred on Oettingen-Wallerstein, and she informed every one who would listen that she would encompass his downfall as she had that of others. The Minister refused to be deterred and drew up another memorandum which he handed to Sir O. Murray, an Englishman in Lola Montez' circle of acquaintances, asking him to hand it to her. In it the Prince described the danger the lady was deliberately courting, and at the same time reminded

her of the gratitude she owed to the best of all kings: ‘A catastrophe will occur before February is over if the Countess Landsfeld continues her present course.’ Lola Montez only laughed at the Prince and sent word that she would have him out of office before the 1st March. The King, she said, had already signified his agreement.

There was nothing to be done, therefore, but to let matters take their course. The continual dissensions penetrated even the immediate entourage of the King. The four aides-de-camp suffered the most. Freiherr von Hunolstein and Lieutenant Gmainer were compelled to accompany the King to Lola’s house, whereupon both requested their transfer. Then came the turn of the third, Count Ludwig Rechberg. He dutifully accompanied his royal master to the Barerstrasse but spoke no word the whole time. The following day he was sent back to his regiment. The last was Rudolf von der Tann, the son of his old friend. After an incident with him, Ludwig sat down to dinner without an aide-de-camp for the first time in his reign. He felt lonely and deserted. He had to appoint men to his suite who had no justifiable claim to such posts. The King was now practically alone in his views, but he refused to yield. He could not or would not admit he was the victim of a terrible mistake.

The Alemannia, the Montez student guard, grew increasingly presumptuous under the King’s protection. It was at this time that Görres died; although personally untouched by what was happening, he was so pained by the trouble which had befallen his King and Bavaria that he became bowed and old, and his health was badly affected. On 29th January he died and was carried to his grave on the 31st by the Catholic students, headed by the ex-Professor Sepp. The dancer ventured to walk through the funeral procession, shouting furiously at such as did not make way for her quickly enough. Gendarmes had again to be called to her protection. A torchlight procession in honour of the deceased was prohibited for fear of riots, and this was immediately attributed to Lola Montez. There were demonstrations at the University against her and the Alemannia and also, now openly, against the King.

A Ministerial Council, at which the King presided, had in the meantime been held in Munich. After a discussion on the various incidents which Lola Montez and her following had caused, and after the King had, as before, defended the lady, Prince zu

Oettingen-Wallerstein suddenly broke down and began to weep. He was heartbroken at the thought of the inexpressible harm which the Countess Landsfeld—because she would not listen to well-meant advice¹—was doing to Bavaria and the King. After that Lola Montez only redoubled her efforts at maligning Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein, and repeated that she would bring about his downfall.

During this time the clashes between the Alemannia and the other students increased. As soon as a student of the Lola faction appeared at the University he was attacked and insulted. These fights were often continued in the streets, when immediately a number of people joined one side or the other and a riot resulted. This was the case on the 7th and 8th February, 1848. On these occasions the dancer always begged the King's help, which was invariably given. By Royal Command, on 9th February, she secured the removal of a great number of officers whom she disliked. The Command ended with the words: 'It is high time that the King took serious steps. The removal of these officers is to take effect immediately.'²

On the same day there was a serious clash on the *Odeonsplatz* between the opposing factions of students and passers-by. One of the Alemannians drew his dagger and this created universal indignation. Everyone turned against the students, who took shelter in an adjacent coffee-house and were besieged there. They got into communication with Lola Montez and begged for her support. The fearless woman armed herself with a pistol and hurried to the *Odeonsplatz*. She wished to see how matters stood and if necessary would go to the Palace and fetch the King to her help. On the way there she got into the crowd and was surrounded. Execrations and curses were rained upon her, but the young woman, feeling herself seriously threatened, her eyes flashing, and looking magnificent in her excitement, seized her pistol and threatened those near her, forcing them to move back and give place to her. That excited the crowd still further. They rushed at her and she was thrown on the ground. Her dress was trodden under foot but she quickly extricated herself and fled for refuge into the Theatiner Church close by. Eye-witnesses reported that, in spite of the repulsiveness of the whole scene, they

¹ Ludwig Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein to Ludwig I, Munich, 14th February, 1848. Munich H.A.

² Munich H.A.

had never seen a woman look so magnificent, or show such courage in a dangerous situation. Ten minutes later, with her pistol still in her hand, she attempted to leave the Church. The weapon was at once torn from her grasp, she was pinned against the wall, and the crowd was beginning to ill-treat her when gendarmes hurried up to protect her from further insults.

While all this had been happening, a *déjeuner dansant* was taking place in the Palace. No sooner had the King been informed of what was happening than he left his guests and, in spite of the surging crowds, rushed into the square. Eight to ten gendarmes had, in the meantime, escorted Lola Montez from the Theatiner Church to the gate of the Palace, which lay opposite. The King caught sight of her and before everybody offered her his arm and took her into the Palace. Immediately after this, mounted police arrived and cleared the square and the dancer was taken through quiet side streets to her house.

The King was beside himself with anger. The students were to blame for everything; his beautiful Countess had always told him so and had urged him to close the University. She was quite right, it was high time to do so, before the rest of the inhabitants started rioting. An order was immediately sent to Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein to close the University. With consternation the Minister received the King's command and immediately made urgent representations to dissuade him from this course: 'The step upon which Your Majesty has decided is so extremely serious,' he declared to the King, 'and will bring such unspeakable misfortune upon thousands of respectable families. . . . I saw it coming; I knew who wished for this step; I was witness of the incredible way in which she induced provocation and of the still more incredible manner in which Your Majesty was deceived. Countess Landsfeld's conduct to-day, when, in spite of the promise she gave Your Majesty after you had conducted her to her house, she deliberately went out again into the midst of the excited crowds literally to bait them and finally to seek a magnificent refuge in the Bavarian Royal Palace, which had to be closed in by troops on her account, has opened my eyes and let me see the abyss into which Your Royal Majesty and Bavaria are deliberately to be dragged.' ¹

But the King adhered to his decision. He had again assured

¹ Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein to Ludwig I, Munich, 9th February, 1848. Munich H.A.

Lola Montez that he was prepared to support her. On the morning of the 10th February, the order to close the University was publicly announced. Simultaneously the news of Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein's resignation spread through the town. Everyone said that Lola's oft-repeated words: 'I will drive them all away,' had come true. The news aroused furious excitement in the ranks of the students.¹ They gathered in hundreds in front of the Ministry to express their sympathy with the Prince on his resignation. Gendarmerie Captain Baur received orders to disperse the rioters. The police rode down the crowds and all fled. Several people were wounded by swords and bayonets, one man mortally.

There had been an excited session at the *Rathaus*. More than a thousand burghers assembled there, and it was decided to go direct to the King and demand that the University be reopened, Captain Baur dismissed, and the Alemannia disbanded. Silently and in military formation the burghers marched to the Royal Palace. They received reinforcements all along the route. Ultimately thousands stood before the Palace and a delegation attempted to obtain audience with the King. Ludwig was not in the Palace. Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein told the delegation he could do no more, he had placed his resignation in the King's hands.

The burghers waited silently in front of the Palace. A squadron of cuirassiers and a section of infantry had pushed their way between the crowd and the Palace. In silent apprehension every one awaited the decision. Then came the announcement: 'The King cannot receive you.' The Burgomaster grew afraid. 'How are we to make the assembled burghers understand that the King will not receive us? They have now been waiting for three hours and are already growing extremely impatient.' The aide-de-camp replied: 'His Majesty has now gone to dinner. For the moment I cannot do anything more.' The delegation was desperate. At last they decided to beg Prince Luitpold to receive them. That was a good idea. They were at once ushered in and begged for mediation, which was immediately agreed to.

After dinner the King entered the Throne Room as was his custom; the delegation waited outside. Luitpold approached his

¹ For further details see *Der Anteil des Magistrats, der Gemeindebevollmächtigten und der Bürgerschaft Münchens an den Ereignissen des 10. und 11. Februar 1848*, a memorandum drawn up for the State Archives by Caspar von Steinsdorf, a Burgomaster of the City of Munich. Original in the Munich City Archives.

father with his request. Soon Ludwig I was heard speaking angrily and more loudly than usual, while when he paused the voice of his sister, Auguste von Leuchtenberg, was heard tearfully entreating her brother. At last the door of the Throne Room was opened. Luitpold and the Duchess approached the delegation, who immediately surrounded them: 'His Majesty will receive you, but do not expect a friendly reception.'

No sooner had they entered the audience chamber than the King stormed at them: 'Is it the custom to come to petition the King with two thousand men behind one? I adhere to my decision. I have thoroughly considered my action in closing the University and will not be forced to change it by threats. The Munich burghers are ungrateful—they forget what I have done for the town in the past twenty years. I can move my capital; there is nothing to prevent me.'

Restlessly the King marched up and down the room, often striking the floor impatiently with his sword. The Burgomaster again tried to excuse the action of the people of Munich and to depict the evil result for the students and their families. Otherwise the burghers were always grateful to their King. But the latter shook his head: 'I will not be intimidated. You may take my life but you will not break my will. The Ministry will inform you of my decision.'

With that Ludwig dismissed the delegation, which returned to the *Rathaus*. The burghers followed, again walking in an orderly procession. Silently they had stood for four hours in front of the Palace—they returned as silently as they had come. In the meantime the King had summoned the Minister of the Interior, Herr von Berks, and sent him to the *Rathaus* with a message: 'Now that the burghers have returned quietly it is my intention that the University shall be opened for the summer term instead of waiting until the winter term as I had intended, that is, if the conduct of the burghers of Munich is to my satisfaction until that time. I have the welfare of the burghers at heart; I have proved that for more than twenty-three years.'¹

The Burgomaster replied: 'That is not enough. The University must be opened this term.' In the meantime fresh disturbances had broken out. A crowd had marched to police headquarters and demanded the person of Captain Baur. Another howling mob had assembled before the house of Lola Montez. Military and

¹ Munich, 10th February, 1848. Munich H.A.

gendarmes endeavoured to keep order. Fearlessly insolent, the dancer watched everything, clapping her hands and crying out: '*Très bien, très bien!*'¹ Towards evening everything was quiet. During the night, however, Burgomaster von Steinsdorf went to Berks and renewed his demands; he censured the behaviour of the foreigner and declared: 'The burghers' demand, that Lola should be forced to leave Munich, can no longer be suppressed.'

Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour Berks immediately went to the King and explained the dangerous situation. Early the following day, the 11th—a year to the very day when Abel and his Ministers placed the famous memorandum before the King—hundreds of burghers streamed to the *Rathaus*. At half-past seven the large hall was open and in a flash the whole place was completely filled. The students hurried there from the University. 'If the King does not give in at once we will go to the Barerstrasse and smoke this dancer, who presumes to rule Bavaria, out of her house.'

The Burgomaster hastened to Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein, who, in spite of his resignation, declared: 'I will now stay in office, for there is a prospect of street rioting and it would be cowardly to retire. You are quite right,' the Prince said, 'the *Reichsräte* have also assembled, they have the same demands as the burghers and will submit them jointly to the King.' Von Steinsdorf then hurried to Berks, the Minister of the Interior: 'An attack is intended upon the house of the Countess Landsfeld. If it should come to bloodshed, there is no telling how the matter will end. I entreat you to induce His Majesty to grant our requests immediately, otherwise I can take no further responsibility.'

Rumours were already current that, should the delegation of the Court of Aldermen again be refused, the entire *Landwehr* of Munich, approximately six thousand men, reinforced by students, would turn out fully armed. The name of the Crown Prince was already mentioned in an unequivocal manner and hints were thrown out regarding a forced abdication of the King. All responsible officials were fully aware that there was serious danger ahead. Ludwig must be compelled to make a decision and this could only culminate in Lola's expulsion from the country.

The King had spent a very bad night. About half an hour after midnight Berks appeared: 'Your Majesty, there is certain to be an

¹ *Aus den Tagen der Lola Montez, Neue deutsche Rundschau*, 12th Year, 1901, p. 913.

attack on the house of the Countess Landsfeld. Even if it can be repulsed, the life of the Countess is undoubtedly in the greatest danger.' Ludwig would not believe it. At two o'clock he sent an officer to Lola Montez to tell her: 'I will not give in; be calm; everything will yet come right.'

He had scarcely closed his eyes when at half-past six the Duchess Auguste von Leuchtenberg appeared to try again to influence her brother, but he would not listen to her. Pale and weary, Ludwig sat at his writing table and in anguish of soul drafted an appeal: 'To the inhabitants of Munich!' The ink was not yet dry on this document when the Director of Police was announced: 'I cannot answer any longer for order in the town,' he reported. That agreed with what Berks had told him during the night. Simultaneously all the Ministers assembled in the Palace: Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein reported: 'Thousands of armed men are on their way, and the garrison—which because of the reduced state of the regiments amounts to scarcely two thousand men—will have a very difficult task, even if it is entirely reliable.'

Nemesis was, in a sense, taking her revenge on Ludwig for his neglect of the army during the whole of his reign. Up to this time the military had obeyed all orders, but now officers and men were only half-hearted in the discharge of their duties. The Rector of the University handed the King a record of Lola Montez' enormities, which he had compiled in the past few weeks and which went into minute detail. In addition to the Ministers, all the members of the Royal Family who were present urged the King to give in and save the country. The Queen begged him on her knees to do this, if not for her sake, at least for the sake of the children.

Ludwig I found himself forsaken by his whole world, threatened by thousands of advancing burghers, and faced with the alternative of making war on his own people with possibly unreliable troops. He realized that further opposition was physically and morally impossible if he did not wish to risk his crown and everything else. The King had the greatest horror of firing on his people and he was determined to avoid that at all costs. So he finally braced himself to agree to the demands of the assembled Ministerial Counsellors. Their demands were that Lola Montez should leave Munich within an hour and Bavaria as soon as possible, that the lectures at the University should be resumed, and that the Gendarmerie Captain Baur, who had given

the order to fire on the crowd the previous day, should be arrested. A general hastened to the *Rathaus* with the news.

Shortly afterwards, at half-past ten, the cry went up: 'The Ministers are coming.' Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein appeared followed by his colleagues, and waved a sheet of paper bearing an order written in the King's own hand that the University should be reopened. At the same time he assured them—as he had been specially enjoined by the King—that this had only been written after the Chief of Police and the Minister of the Interior had declared that the burghers were threatening neither revolt nor compulsion, but were appealing to the love and gracious favour of their King. The reopening was therefore granted of his own free will and as a proof of his fatherly benevolence. Thus appearances were to be saved.

'Nothing separates the King from his people any longer,' Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein cried out. 'Now the crowds will again make their way to the Palace but with a different object.'

Then all those present rose. 'Long live the King!' The sound of a thousand voices rang through the hall. Thereupon began a march to the Palace to thank the King who, however, was not there at that moment. His wife appeared in his stead at one of the windows. Thunderous cheers greeted her: 'Long live the Queen!'

In the meantime the Countess Landsfeld heard with consternation the decision which meant the end of her career in Bavaria. Thousands were encamped round her house to witness her departure, but she refused to obey the order. She wished to remain in Munich, to see the King, to speak to him. As time went on the crowds surged threateningly around the house. The people grew more unruly; they raged and screamed and some even climbed on to the wall of the garden. There was imminent danger that the house would be stormed. The dancer's friends took her to the window and showed her the position of affairs. At last she became alarmed and was induced to enter the waiting carriage. At half-past eleven she drove at full gallop through the crowds with the intention of reaching the Palace by way of the *Englischen Garten*. She was determined to see Ludwig. But when she saw the gate of the Palace carefully locked and guarded, she drove in haste to the little Castle of *Blutenburg*, about two hours' drive from Munich.

Hardly had Lola Montez left her house than it was stormed by

the crowds. Police and soldiers only offered feeble resistance and the mob began to wreck everything they could lay hands on. In the Palace the King heard of these occurrences and hastened, all alone and on foot, through the excited crowds to Lola Montez' house, in the hope of saving her personal possessions. On his approach he saw stones being thrown at the windows. One rebounded from the iron palings and fell on his arm. Then the crowd recognized the King. Several officers hastened up and surrounded him. The King entered the house from the back, climbed a low wall, and appeared on the balcony. The crowds, who admired the King's courage, broke into cheers, but he appealed to the people: 'Please go home quietly. As a special favour I have acceded to the students' wishes. I have removed the cause of strife and am always ready to listen to you. If you love your King spare this building which belongs to me.'

Ludwig then commanded the troops to restore order and himself turned away some of the more inquisitive persons. After that he went quietly home through the excited crowd.

At Schloss Blumenburg, in the meantime, Lola Montez had disguised herself as a peasant girl with the help of a family very much attached to the King. She determined, thus disguised, to return to Munich the same evening and see whether she could not arrange to meet Ludwig.¹ There was, however, still much excitement in the town, and the Palace was too carefully guarded. At the King's command, or, as many believed, by him personally, the dancer was given promises of material assistance which would make life easier for her for a time. But she did not succeed, as she had hoped, in obtaining the repeal of the deportation order. Crying with rage she stamped on the ground. She saw that her power was broken, her life threatened, the dream over and everything finished. Two police commissioners accompanied her to the railway station. Enraged, Lola Montez swore and threatened the people of Munich: 'The day is not yet over. You will regret this,' she kept on exclaiming. But it was no use, she had to go out of the country and a new phase of her adventurous life began. With a passport in the name of Mrs. Bolton she crossed the Bavarian-Swiss border.

The events of the 10th and 11th reacted strongly upon the King. It gradually penetrated his consciousness that he personally, and through him the Crown, had suffered a defeat and

¹ *Freifrau Ottilie von Lerchenfeld, Munich, 11th February, 1848.*

that the serious consequences of this would probably only be felt later. For the first time Ludwig's will, which he had considered inflexible, had had to bow to a higher power. The Austrian representative reported correctly to his Government¹: 'The people have triumphed over the royal power and are conscious of their undeniable victory; they have learned the power of their will and the manner of using it with success.'

The feeling of shame at his defeat, and also the pain of being forced to part from the adored woman, who had pretended to be deeply in love with him, nearly broke the King's heart. He evinced a despairing and scarcely controllable irritation, which was chiefly directed against those who had played any part in the incidents of the past days. He relieved his feelings by angry remarks. Bitterly he said to one of the Queen's ladies in waiting: 'Do not triumph too soon. You might be mistaken in the end.' He endeavoured to make it appear that the orders of the last few days had been given of his own free will, and would not admit that he had bowed to superior force. Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein had shown resource and tact in a most delicate situation, coupled with praiseworthy energy at the decisive moment. But the King regarded him with distrust on account of his attitude to the dancer. On 14th February the King received a letter from the Minister²:

'Countess Landsfeld was Your Majesty's worst, Your only enemy. She actually played into the hands of Your opponents. Her vicious desire to appear to rule roused even the most peaceful. Her "*il faut, je veux, j'ai ordonné à Louis*", etc., were grist to the mill of Your opponents. A week before Your Majesty had ordered the closing of the University she had announced "*Je ferai fermer l'université. Louis me l'a déjà promis; je ne lui rends plus sa parole*". When therefore your Royal command was issued, it was regarded as her work. Because the honest but rough Bavarians love their King, they treated her roughly because they thought she was deceiving this beloved King. Up to the end of December everything was in excellent order, but with the New Year her paroxysms reached a kind of delirio, *hinc illae lacrimae*. . . . She has hurt me unspeakably in the last six weeks. I am not angry with her

¹ *Freiherr* von Brenner to Metternich, Munich, 14th February, 1848. Vienna St.A.

² Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein to Ludwig I, Munich, 14th February, 1848. Munich H.A.

for I consider her completely unaccountable for her actions. But I pray for the health of Your Royal Majesty.'

The King's distrust, however, led him to seek an ulterior motive behind this completely sincere letter. However well meant his efforts had been, the Prince had nevertheless been partly responsible for the downfall of Lola Montez, and the King's mental condition at the moment made it difficult for him to forgive anything of that sort. That was also manifested in various other incidents. Count Arco-Valley, for example, kept his word and shortly after the expulsion of the dancer had five thousand gulden distributed amongst the poor of Munich. The King regarded this gesture as a demonstration against himself. He felt personally insulted and, by a letter written in his own hand and without giving any further reason, forbade the Count to come to Court. As Arco-Valley was regarded as one of the chiefs of the ultra-Catholic party, Ludwig used this as proof that everything which had happened in Munich recently had been the work of the Jesuits.

With sorrow it was realized in the country that although Ludwig I had given in outwardly, he was not himself convinced, and that therefore the return of old conditions might possibly be attempted at the first opportunity. Amongst the populace general unrest persisted and any spark could easily kindle it into flame. Fears were also entertained regarding further acts of vengeance by the King. Pain and anger at his humiliation and the loss of one so dear to him were still raging within him. He could not believe that she was really as bad and depraved as she was said to be. Yet in the last days many things had come out, such as the particularly questionable relations of Lola Montez with young men and her demands for money, which aroused his suspicions and pained him more than everything else. The King felt compelled to keep his son, the Crown Prince, who lived at some distance from Munich, informed of the whole course of events.

Everything that happened was turned to advantage by the democratic party. The Ministers with clerical leanings had been swept away and the respect and dignity of the Crown weakened, while unrest and nervousness reigned amongst the people. Then another event took place which played into the hands of the liberals all over the world. Everyone was accustomed to the idea that instigation for revolt and revolution originated in France and its turbulent capital, and this rule was once more proved true.

In Paris indignation at the Government, its corruption and reactionary policy combined with financial misrule, had reached such a height that patience was at an end and the people streamed into the streets to the cry of 'Reform! Reform! Down with Guizot!' It was impossible to oppose the demonstration with sufficient strength, for the National Guard and the Army sympathized with the rioters. On 23rd February Guizot was dismissed, but that was not sufficient. The workers were already demanding much more; the troops fired on the crowds, fifty-two dead and wounded lay in the streets. Now it was impossible to control the people. Alarm bells were rung in Paris. On the 24th barricades were thrown up all over the town, the Army joined the people, Louis Philippe abdicated, and a temporary government of socialist party members was formed and soon proclaimed the Republic.

The news of the February riots in France had a powerful echo all over Germany. Up to that time political freedom of action of the individual, and all manifestations of nationalist spirit had been too much kept down.

Early on 29th February the first news of the revolution in France reached Munich. And now the weakening of the power of the Throne, due to the mistakes into which Ludwig's inflammable heart had betrayed him, was noticeable in Bavaria. The people had learned that they could force their will upon the King; they had seen how fatally the neglect of the army was now affecting matters and how weak the Monarchy really was. The object lesson given in Paris encouraged the movement to make threatening demands which were beyond all reasonable limits. The King had always the greatest abhorrence of allowing anything to be wrung from him by force. As far as the national idea was concerned, he had a perfectly clear conscience. His Government too had the best intentions. Berks? Yes, he would like to keep him. But this very Berks was the sore point with the people. They wanted him out of the way. Not only that, but they expected the King to grant them everything at once. They overwhelmed him with a thousand demands and at once brought pressure to bear. His character, indeed his whole being, rebelled against such methods which threatened to bind his hands for always, to shake, or rather to shatter, the whole edifice of his conception of monarchy. He had always been ready, without compulsion, to encourage any national desires and they could have obtained everything else by the peaceful development of these ideas. But now, just because the devil

had been let loose, again over there in France, that ever-open Pandora's box, he was expected to give in, to sign everything, publicly to renounce everything and, what was even worse, forfeit his self-respect in so doing! No! no! a thousand times no!

The King, still nervous and agitated as a result of all that had taken place, felt deeply aggrieved at the fresh resistance which was growing up. Revolution was again raising its head. On 2nd March barricades were erected and the military was called out to keep order. ‘Down with Berks, long live Reform,’ resounded through the streets. At 10 o'clock in the morning it was decided at the *Rathaus* to present to the King an address containing the most far-reaching demands.

When finally the people's declaration, with nearly 10,000 signatures, was presented, Berks was dismissed. It was with difficulty that the King forced himself to make these concessions, but they were considered by no means sufficient. Riots again spread through the town. The Arsenal was forced and the arms seized. Again Ludwig was faced with the question: bloodshed or capitulation? Both were abhorrent to him. He was determined not to let things come to a civil war, but his cherished conception of Kingship would suffer too greatly if he capitulated. There was a fierce struggle within him. At one moment he was inclined to take the most severe measures; then a minute later he decided against them. Prince zu Oettingen-Wallerstein advised concessions and the immediate convocation of the Chambers. There was nothing for it, Ludwig had to give in. The *Stände* were to assemble on 16th March: the King's brother, Prince Karl, announced it personally from the *Rathaus*. On the 4th, therefore, the greatest suspense was allayed.

With extreme agitation Ludwig followed the stormy development of events. ‘These are bad times in which we live,’ he wrote to the Crown Prince.¹ ‘Kings are not to be envied. The days which are just over have been bad ones; to-day all is quiet, at least up till now, six minutes past one.’ But whilst this letter was on its way to him Maximilian had already left for Munich. Count Bernstorff reported the situation in the most dismal colours to Berlin. He referred to the King in very harsh words: he believed him to live in a land of dreams, occupied only with thoughts of a reunion with his banished mistress and of revenge for all he had

¹ Ludwig I to Crown Prince Maximilian, Munich, 5th March, 1848. Munich H.A.

this seriously and considered it merely a passing thought—a momentary whim. But now he was convinced that she meant it.

‘Only in this way can you escape the unpleasantness and dangers which threaten you in the future,’ Lola urged him. ‘I love you more than all the world, I beg and entreat you to spend the rest of your life with me. We will buy a country house in Switzerland, and there we will live happily together, and in peace. I cannot bear that you have other women near you. All the evil they say about me is nothing but lies and slander, which only serve to open the way for others.’

Lola Montez was bewitchingly beautiful in her excitement. The King once more fell a victim to her captivating beauty and charm. The assertion of her deep love had never failed in its effect on the elderly man, nor did it this time. Her clever way of feigning jealousy flattered the King and he was almost prepared to assure her of his devotion and to do everything she wished. Lola Montez believed she had gained a complete victory and was only afraid that under given circumstances the King would not be allowed to leave the country.

A few hours previously the King had been convinced that the dancer had lied to him as no other man had ever been deceived or lied to before, and now a few short hours together had sufficed to make him believe in her constancy and innocence. With triumph in her heart Lola Montez said farewell and allowed the police to take her across the border that same night to a sanatorium in Switzerland. She was prepared to wait patiently until Ludwig laid down his crown, followed her abroad, and made a home for her.

Filled with anxieties the ageing King returned to his palace about four o’clock in the morning. Now that the extraordinary personal charm of the dancer was removed, he was able to think more clearly. The vision of that night appeared to him as a beautiful but bitterly confused dream. Was it possible to believe the assurances of that bewitching woman against whom there were such innumerable witnesses amongst serious, honest and well-meaning people? Doubt and confidence struggled together and gave no peace to the King’s tormented soul.

At first nothing of all this was known to the public. For the moment things appeared to be settling down, and Ludwig began to think that perhaps all might yet be well. On 14th March he drove through the streets with the Queen to inspect the town militia and the Students’ Corps. In the evening the whole town was

illuminated. With deep satisfaction at the results of the day, the King wrote that same evening to his daughter Mathilde saying he was glad that the Austrian, Count Lehrbach, had been present and had seen how the people felt, and how the students had only been restrained with difficulty from unharnessing the horses of the royal carriage. 'There was tremendous enthusiasm,' he informed his daughter.¹

In spite of all precautions, however, it suddenly became known in Munich that Lola Montez had been there again. Someone, in fact, declared that she was still in the country. This made the people furious. It was rumoured that Lola Montez would before long attempt to gain the power. This was followed by fresh disturbances in Munich on the 16th of March. The police headquarters were stormed, and the Ministry compelled the King to declare that the Countess Landsfeld had ceased to hold Bavarian nationality and all the authorities had the right to arrest the lady if she were found on Bavarian soil.

The declaration, wrung from the King after his dramatic meeting and the fresh opening of the scarcely healed wound, cut deeply into his soul. Moreover things did not stop at that; people insulted him personally, they interfered with his affections, they made him despicable, and that was the last straw. Great bitterness, even disgust, overwhelmed him. His feelings were still storm-tossed, although doubts had again obtained the upper hand and he had heard fresh things about the dancer the truth of which could not be denied.

So this woman, for whom he had again been ready to risk everything, wrecked his whole happiness. Ludwig began to doubt whether he could possibly continue to carry out his duties as King in accordance with his convictions. The situation was intensified by portentous events all over the world. Revolution broke out in Vienna. On the 13th March Metternich had to resign and fly, and his decaying structure, his 'policy of preservation' collapsed on all sides.

In Berlin riots and street fighting took place on the 18th March on the Castle Square. Alarming reports were received from Italy and everything immediately reacted on Germany as a whole as well as on Bavaria. In Munich people refused to be persuaded that Lola Montez was not hidden somewhere in the town. There

¹ Ludwig I to the Grandduchess Mathilde, Munich, 14th and 15th March, 1848. Munich H.A.

were discussions in the *Rathaus* whether a new address should be presented to the King to demand that the Crown Prince be named as co-Regent, which was another way of suggesting that the King should abdicate. But the great majority of the meeting rejected this suggestion. The King was terribly agitated. Blood rushed to his head and it was feared that he would have a stroke. He realized that the decisive moment was at hand. He struggled with himself: 'Am I still King? Do I still rule? Am I still able to give an order? Must I assume that now, when the whole world is convulsed, I shall never recover the sceptre which has been wrested from me?' The sorrow into which his recent love affair had plunged him also robbed him of his strength. He decided that it must be all or nothing. To be a King in name and watch others rule, to be merely one of a majority, something intangible, irresponsible, unreal, was more than he could bear. He would remain faithful to his convictions. How was it possible to run a house, a business, or control a ship unless one person were in command? It was the same in State affairs, and if that were not admitted he would rather lay down his crown. Let his son try. Perhaps the strength of youth might succeed in getting back into his hands the reins which at present were trailing on the ground, whilst he was prevented from taking them up again.

On 19th March the riots in Berlin reached their climax. The news from there was extremely threatening. So his support, too, was tottering. Now the King's mind was made up—he would abdicate. At one o'clock Ludwig I summoned all the Princes of his House who were of age: 'It is my irrevocable decision to abdicate in favour of my son.' The Princes stood around him deeply moved. Maximilian knelt down and asked his father's blessing. Tears came into Ludwig's eyes. He found it hard to leave the place he had come to love during his long years of work—voluntarily to renounce his power. On the 20th March the King signed his abdication.

Full of hope, Lola Montez followed everything from a distance: the first part of what she had achieved during her last visit to the King was realized. She now expected him to follow her to Switzerland. If only she could be near him, there would be no more doubt about it. Would he be able to take the plunge? Would not steps be taken to prevent it?

The news of the abdication had spread like wildfire through the country and immediately the King received thousands of

demonstrations of affection from every side, the warmest of them, naturally, from his own children. To them, in spite of his emotion, he sent an immediate answer: 'I acted loyally in accordance with what I have always professed: I would not wear a dishonoured crown. If I could not be King in truth I had no wish to appear to be King. Insurrection was victorious and my throne had vanished. According to our Constitution, which acknowledges the monarchist principle, the King rules and reigns; but that is no longer true to-day, after the victory of the revolution. No one influenced me to lay down the Crown and no single Minister was aware of my decision.'¹

With bowed head Ludwig returned to his apartments, still a King, a living King, but dead as far as his career and the future of his country were concerned. He was stung to the quick the first time he heard his son Maximilian addressed as 'Your Majesty'. During these disquieting days a constant stream of reports was received, and throughout the remaining months of this year of misfortune these reports were recognized as indisputably true and terrible. The woman for whom he would have shed his heart's blood, for whom he had risked his life in the riots, for whom he had fought against the whole world and had now given up his Crown, was not worthy of him. She had deceived him. Now in another country she was leading a life devoid of all moral restraint. Too late the King's eyes were opened. There was no more question of his following her to Switzerland. A moving poem marked the close of the most stormy epoch of his life²:

¹ Ludwig I to the Grandduchess Mathilde, Munich, 20th March, 1848. Munich H.A.

² In Ludwig's own writing: 'To Lola,' 'After I had been convinced of her evil conduct.' Dated Munich, 22nd January, 1849. Munich H.A.

Lola Montez at once resumed her former restless wandering life. She went to Geneva and Berne, then to England where she appeared on the stage. On the 19th July, 1849, she married a young Englishman of twenty-one, a Cornet named George Trafford Heald. She involved the indignant Heald family in a lawsuit for bigamy brought against her by her first husband, who forced the couple to leave England. In 1851 they separated. Lola Montez went to America and appeared there in Ballet and in a sort of *révue* called 'Lola in Bavaria', where she appeared as dancer, politician, Countess, revolutionary, and fugitive. King Ludwig was also represented, but the dancer always showed the greatest consideration for him. The so-called 'Memoirs of Lola Montez' were written by others, not by herself. Her stage life took her to San Francisco where, in the year 1853, she married again, this time a journalist named Patrick Purdy Hull. The marriage only lasted a few months as her husband died shortly after. In 1855 her career as dancer took her to Sydney, Australia. In the following years she was again to be seen in Europe and New York. When during the year 1858 she appeared in court for debt in New York, the judge asked her point-blank if she had not been King Ludwig's mistress. 'I swear on the Bible that I have never had what you

"Twere better far that I had never known thee
For whom my heart's blood I would gladly give;
With grief beyond expression thou hast filled me,
Most burning love of all the years I live.

I trusted in the love I thought thou gavest
And set myself defiant 'gainst all men.
In confidence of love my heart was bravest,
In surging tumult of my passions then.

It was not true that I had been mistaken,
The things they told me I had not believed,
My confidence in thee could not be shaken—
But now I know that I have been deceived.

So thou wouldst wield the sceptre of a Kingdom,
Of ruling in my stead wouldst make great show,
And thine alone should be the power and wisdom?
Thy heart turns ever back to things most low.

My faith thou hast with treachery requited,
Hast coveted my pow'r and craved my gold;
Through thee my whole existence is benighted,
I am forsaken by my friends of old.

My heart within my breast already broken,
And sick and pained—the world was weariness,
When indignation, ruthlessly outspoken,
Ranged perfidy beside ungratefulness.

The dream of years for evermore has vanished
And I awoken in a wilderness.
What I have felt of joy and pleasure banished;
My crown is forfeit, and my happiness.'

call an intrigue with him. On the contrary, I only did him good.' 'How?' 'Because I aroused in him a love of freedom.' After 1858 the dancer gave lectures on 'The Arts of Beauty' and 'The Toilet Secrets of a Lady', also on gallantry and the manner in which the sexes should treat each other. She stated publicly concerning King Ludwig: 'His Majesty is one of the most cultured and high-minded gentlemen of the old school. He is also the cleverest man in Europe. Art owes him more than it owes to any other King who has ever lived. He worships beauty in the manner of the old troubadours, and his gallantry is connected with his love of art. He was the greatest and best king Bavaria has ever had.' In 1860 Lola Hull formerly Gilbert, James, Montez, and Heald, was attacked by an insidious illness which partially paralysed her. Deserted by her friends and acquaintances, but never in want, she died on the 7th January, 1861, and was buried in New York. On her tombstone her name is given as Mrs. Eliza Gilbert.

CHAPTER XII

BEHIND THE SCENES

THE KING'S LAST LOVE

1848-1864

Suddenly everything had changed. His son ruled and ex-King Ludwig had no more voice in the matter. It was more than an abdication, it was voluntary self-exclusion. In spite of occasional agreement, the ideas of father and son were fundamentally opposed. This applied equally to politics and to the realms of art, where Ludwig was completely at a loss to understand his son's taste.

Ludwig was very responsive to each voice of regret that was heard throughout the country after his abdication. Even the French Minister remarked: 'He has retained his popularity in spite of everything because it is based on the fact that he, first among the German Princes, and with more intensity than any of them, emphasized the national idea.'

Ludwig carefully noted the attitude of the people when he took his usual walks through the streets. He was pleased that respect was rather more marked than before. 'You know, my dear Mathilde,¹ how much I value that. But to have continued as King, no, that would not have been possible. I could no longer rule and I had no wish to turn into a mere signer of documents.' When two hundred and sixty-four artists, sculptors, and painters sent Ludwig an address expressing their devotion and their infinite regret at his resignation, the King thanked them with a poem: 'It was no sacrifice to me to lay down the Crown. I only regret the impossibility of doing as much for art as I have hitherto done. For when everything else has sunk into oblivion, art and its works will still remain.'

King Ludwig decided not to encroach upon his son's sphere of activities—not to interfere in any way:

¹ Ludwig I to the Grandduchess Mathilde, Munich, 1st May, 1848. Munich H.A.

'My rôle has been played to its end. They have rung down the curtain. I needed not to vanish into nothingness; 'twas given to me That I in the wings might stand, in silence watching The new drama unfold.

A curious destiny is mine who in my life behold
What would have taken place were I already dead.'¹

It was, however, painful for the ex-King to be forced to appeal against so many of his son's decisions. Although Maximilian had not such a strong personality as his father, nevertheless at the very beginning of his reign he made a number of changes in the laws, and these changes were in direct opposition to his predecessor's principles. It seemed that an entirely new policy was being inaugurated. Most of the high officials appointed by Ludwig I were dismissed. 'This systematic removal of men from their posts saddens and pains me greatly,' wrote Ludwig to Maximilian.² 'The father, who a few months ago was the ruler, now pleads with his own son . . . that this is difficult needs no assertion. The father who voluntarily abdicates in favour of his son should, in my opinion, be shown some little consideration.' Every day there were incidents which, no doubt ridiculous in themselves, were significant in that they brought home to Ludwig the change in his position. He described to his wife how he had one day found a soldier smoking under the archway of the palace garden. He had during his own *régime* allowed soldiers to smoke in the streets, but had expressly forbidden it in the palace garden. The ex-King went up to one of these and forbade him to smoke, but he was quick to answer: 'His Majesty King Maximilian allows it.' 'I left him without a word; it is a trifle, if you like, but it hurts me, for it makes me feel that I have no more voice in anything.'³

At the same time he was still smarting under the wound inflicted by the Montez. He had at last clearly realized that the dancer had used him as her tool. That was not the way for a woman to treat the man who loved her, still less when that man was a King. 'I am getting old,' the King said to himself, 'and can no longer inspire love in any woman.' At first he had intended to settle an annual income on the dancer, but he changed his mind on this point. He had, nevertheless, all kinds of financial obligations to meet on her behalf. Lola Montez was no longer mentioned. Ludwig did not wish to hear her name, not even from his

¹ *Meine Lage*, a poem in the Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Maximilian II, Berchtesgaden, 6th July, 1848. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Therese, Munich, 21st October, 1848. Munich H.A.

sister Karoline Auguste who was coming to visit him. She reassured him on this subject: 'To speak of a certain matter would be as painful for me as for you.'¹

The King also resumed his correspondence with his friend Tann who was lying dangerously ill in Bad Weilbach. Tann could no longer hold a pen, but dictated a letter sending the King his good wishes for his birthday. It was evident in what a dreamland Ludwig had recently lived. 'How different! How different it all was a year ago when you congratulated me in person at Aschaffenburg,' he wrote to Tann.² 'Those were happy days! How cheerful the present seemed to me and how smiling the future. If only we feel happy, although it may be illusion, we *are* happy because we feel it. And now . . . how everything has changed for me!'

In spite of all that had happened, Ludwig's health was good. Alone and unaccompanied, he took long walks in the town and surrounding country. Ludwig made plans for many journeys; he intended to make a long stay in the country near Salzburg, in Berchtesgaden and in Brückenau, and as soon as possible to go to Rome, for which he longed 'as a passionate lover for his beloved'.³

The year of misfortune, 1848, ended with the death of the King's best friend, Heinrich von der Tann. Broken-hearted, in physical pain, he had lived through the bitter days of his King. The news of his death affected Ludwig more than anything he had so far experienced, and this was clear from a letter he wrote to the daughter of the deceased, Baroness Sophie: 'Tann was to me that which no one else has ever been or could ever be.'⁴ Nothing more beautiful could be said of anyone. The King earnestly begged that all steps be taken to make certain his friend was really dead, for there was nothing more terrible than to be buried alive. 'It is the last service I can render him. For me and for his people this is an irreparable loss; we had known each other for forty-five years.'

This loss and the growing realization of how unworthy that fateful woman had been of his great sacrifice made Ludwig sad and weary of the world. But it was bitter to be suddenly shut off from everything. 'At times I cannot realize that I am no longer King.

¹ Empress Karoline Auguste to Ludwig I, Salzburg, 28th July, 1848. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Tann, Berchtesgaden, 25th August, 1848. Tann family archives.

³ Ludwig I to Therese, Munich, 24th October, 1848. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to Sophie, *Freiin* von der Tann, 14th November, 1848. Tann family archives.

It needs a great deal of endurance to stay in this capital where my word was law for twenty-three years . . . to be a nonentity, and at the same time to keep cheerful. . . .’ But he put such thoughts out of his head and endeavoured, at least outwardly, to appear as if all were well with him: ‘Everyone remarks how fresh and strong I look, even better than when I was on the Throne—the man entering his sixty-third year is said to look young.’¹

Nevertheless, despair and pain at the disillusionment that beautiful woman had caused him were tearing at his heart. About this time a man named August Papon, who was one of Lola Montez’ disreputable followers, approached the King with the information that there was a possibility of the dancer’s memoirs being published, unless this were prevented by the payment of a sum of money in Munich. Enclosed in the letter was the manuscript of a miserable libellous pamphlet, badly composed, which was sent simultaneously to various persons of high rank, amongst them Ludwig’s stepsister, Archduchess Sophie, in Vienna. Papon was able to persuade Ludwig that Lola Montez was party to this blackmail and thereby succeeded in banishing the last shreds of respect he still felt for her. He sent a poem on his disillusionment, together with complaints of Papon’s baseness, to his sister, the Empress Karoline Auguste. She found the verses containing the confession of the fatal mistake both affecting and beautiful: ‘I am infinitely relieved that you now realize what every one else knew. Oh, it is only natural that your honest, affectionate character refused to believe such vileness possible. But do not think that my joy at your awakening makes me less sympathetic with your sorrow: on the contrary, I sympathize deeply with what you must be feeling, and I suffer with you. Every disappointment is terrible, but this one must be crushing, particularly as there is no escape from the consequences of this devilish plot. And Therese, this noble, rare being. . . . My brother, you have suffered much ingratitude, but you have also put loyal hearts to the test. Many are entirely devoted to you, do not forget that. . . .’

These assurances brought comfort, and in spite of the anxiety and trouble it occasioned the King, he did the only possible thing and left Papon’s blackmailing letters unanswered.

Ludwig had hoped to be able to continue living in the Palace after his abdication and this had been made one of the conditions.

¹ King Ludwig I to King Otto, Munich, 17th January, 1849. Munich H.A. Extract in Trost, p. 25.



LOLA MONTEZ AT 40.



LOLA MONTEZ AT 25.

At first King Maximilian II made no objection, but towards the end of the year 1848 he gave his father clearly to understand that he wished him to leave the Palace, where he had lived for nearly half a century, and to move into what had formerly been the Crown Prince's Palace. In this way the new order was emphasized publicly. Maximilian insisted upon the arrangement as he found the upkeep of the suites of two kings in one building impossible. In addition, the unwillingness of the new King to complete the Bavarian Hall of Fame annoyed the ex-King not a little. Whether he liked it or not, he had to continue it at his own cost, and this did not help to lessen the tension between Ludwig and Maximilian.

Ludwig's friend in Italy had heard with real consternation and deep regret the news of the abdication of her royal admirer. Ghita indicated maliciously that her already ageing friend, who made almost ridiculous efforts to induce others to think her still young and beautiful,¹ was also concerned about the personal disadvantages to her in consequence of this change. But here she did her a great injustice. Mariannina Waddington was really fond of the King and continued to write him friendly letters, promised him not to mention 'that woman', and was only anxious lest Ludwig should again avoid her when he next came to Italy. That would cause gossip which might even be commented upon in the Press.² King Ludwig sometimes longed to speak to his old friend again, to calm her and to find sympathy with her. At times melancholy would overtake him, and then as ever poetry would be the outlet of his emotions. He sometimes longed for the peace of the grave:

'I do appear to be as one who has died,
Like to a tree long dead whose leaves have fall'n. . . .'

Only the consciousness that he might still do something for art gave him fresh courage:

'The days which God may still vouchsafe to me
To art's high service and my fellow men. . . .
I here do swear they dedicated be. . . .'³

Munich sometimes depressed the King too much; for that reason he frequently visited his daughter Mathilde in Hesse, and in the summer he went to Berchtesgaden and Leopoldskron, where he could be cheerful and even jovial. 'But in Munich the wound will

¹ Ghita M. V. to Ludwig I, Spina, 29th March, 1849. Munich H.A.

² Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, No. 1184, Perugia, 18th December, 1848. Munich H.A.

³ Sonnet in the Munich H.A.

not heal, it is constantly torn open again . . . here everything reminds me of what I was and what I am—that I am nothing.¹

After his return to Munich in the autumn, Ludwig moved unwillingly into the Wittelsbach Palace, which he so disliked. The only thing that consoled him was the view from the roof, from which he could see several of the magnificent buildings he had caused to be erected. He chose to live on the second floor and took the simplest rooms, for the palace was not even finished.

At this time, when relations between father and son had scarcely been improved by the enforced change of residence, they were to come to a decision regarding the fate of the architectural work which was already in hand and also of the proposed new buildings. For a time relations between father and son were so strained that they did not see each other and only negotiated through an intermediary. If in no other way, Ludwig was determined to remain king in the sphere of architecture and art, for he had a very poor opinion of his son's gifts in this respect. On one occasion Ludwig was present at the same time as the King and Queen at an artist's fête. Maximilian never stayed long on such occasions; he continually suffered from headache and left early with the Queen. Thereupon Ludwig I clapped his hands and cried out: 'Now, children, it's going to be cheerful. The Court has gone.'²

The ex-King kept rigidly apart from politics. Now and then, however, he could not resist making a disparaging remark about some decree or other. But apart from that he devoted all his time, as formerly, to his beloved buildings. The Arch of Triumph, which so fittingly terminates the Ludwigstrasse, was now completed. In the same year, on 9th November, 1850, there took place the unveiling of the statue of Bavaria, the largest statue in Europe, which stood in front of the completed Hall of Fame. The cast of the figure succeeded beyond all expectation. When the enormous head of the Bavaria was lifted, the joyful strains of many voices resounded from it, and suddenly, in front of the astounded gaze of the King, a large number of singers issued forth, who had been hidden within the head. 'I saw it,' cried Ludwig, 'and yet it is incredible.'³

The festival resolved itself into an overwhelming demonstration of homage and reconciliation. It was well known in Munich how

¹ Ludwig I to the Grandduchess Mathilde of Hesse, Berchtesgaden, 22nd July, 1849. Munich H.A.

² Heigel, *Ludwig I.*, p. 350.

³ Reidelbach, p. 243.

deeply Ludwig had suffered through the woman for whom he had lost his crown. The storms of the revolution were past. The pendulum, which had swung too much to the left, had now gone back to the right. All the magnificence which Ludwig had given to the town was remembered and now the inhabitants were face to face with a monument which fed the vanity of the people and of all those who had relatives in the Hall of Fame.

The terrible disappointment in connection with the Montez had left a gaping void in Ludwig's heart, and the flattering and affectionate letters of his old friend in Italy (which now numbered nearly thirteen hundred) made a particularly great impression. It cheered him when Mariannina wrote: 'You are to me the dearest of all and I look forward so much to seeing you at last after seven long years.'¹ Mariannina, however, had heard rumours of the Montez Memoirs and feared the King might² have mentioned her at some time to the dancer, or even shown her letters, and she begged him urgently to reassure her on this point.

At the beginning of April, 1851, Ludwig left for Rome, travelling by way of Florence, and passed through Ascagnano where he visited the Waddingtons. The King assured Mariannina that there was nothing whatever about her in the Montez Memoirs. In his various affairs of the heart he had always adhered to the rule of never confiding to one lady anything confidential about another. He did not disguise his disillusionment and the Italian was glad to find Ludwig so affectionate to her again, sunning herself in the reflection that she had reawakened his old love, and that she was victorious over all other women. She felt 'indescribably intoxicated with happiness'.³

Ludwig only remained a short time, however. He never felt quite at home with the Marchesa's English husband and perhaps his delight at seeing his old friend was not quite as great as she believed. Time had not left her untouched. Mariannina was now forty-eight years of age, which means more in the case of an Italian than a German. But the King was loyal and affectionate in his own way, and the visit had therefore done him good. He went on to Rome. Ludwig, who had not been to Italy since 1844, was delighted to see his beloved Giardino di Malta again.

¹ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Perugia, 17th June and 2nd July, 1850. Munich H.A.

² Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, 27th January, 12th and 18th February, 1851. Munich H.A.

³ Ghita to Ludwig I, 19th April, 1851. Munich H.A.

'How dear thou art to me, loved refuge, where the King at last Finds once again the man he lost at home.'¹

The King immediately resumed his connections with the artist world in Rome. By chance he met Goethe's grandson, Wolfgang, at the house of the painter, Wittmer. When he heard who the young man was it thrilled him like 'an electric current'. He would never have believed that this dry, cold man could be the grandson of the great poet.

Everyone he met seemed to have grown desperately old. Artists and priests, men, women, and mighty Cardinals were now bowed with age. This was very different from King Ludwig, who still felt young and was pleased when he heard that it was said behind his back as well as to his face that the seven years had not altered him.

Ludwig had no connections with the politics of his country. The differences between father and son were demonstrated by complete silence on the part of the latter.

Whilst in Rome Ludwig received the news of the death of his sister, Auguste von Leuchtenberg. Sadly he wandered into the Columbarium, that burial place which received its name of 'dovecote' because the niches for the urns resembled the apertures of a dovecote. In deep melancholy Ludwig regarded the beautiful, well-preserved bust which a brother had dedicated to his sister over nineteen hundred years ago. 'These urns are not repulsive, there is a certain intimacy in approaching them,' the King declared.² 'How disgusting, abhorrent, on the contrary, is the decomposition of corpses and how loathsome are the skeletons which remain. That is all avoided by cremation.'

The new impressions, the pleasure at meeting old friends and seeing again the beautiful Roman buildings, could not quite make the King forget all that he had suffered during the past years. Whether he liked it or not, there was continually news of the life of that fateful so-called Spanish woman. She wandered about the world and at times the wildest stories of her adventures were poured into the King's ears from all sides; then again reports were circulated of her complete conversion to a moral, devout life. Even now, every mention of her was a knife-thrust in his heart. His letters to her were in safe custody and Papon's libellous document had made little impression; the very style of its compilation had

¹ Reidelbach, p. 286.

² Ludwig I to Therese, 27th May, 1851. Munich H.A.

robbed it of all interest. There was therefore nothing more to be feared from that quarter. When Ludwig received the affecting news that Lola Montez had repented of her misdeeds, he again composed a poem to her:

'The crown I wore I now have lost for ever,
And for thy sake, my Sweet, but was I right?
But right or wrong, I shall regret it never,
Thou wast a shining though a scorching light.

Be happy. In my heart can dwell no hate—
And if for my undoing thou wert sent,
Let us ascribe the devil's deed to Fate
And purge thy soul of malice and intent.

All's over. Thou and I no more may meet,
And yet within my heart I breathe a prayer,
God have you ever in his charge, my Sweet,
And give me peace. . . . This life is hard to bear.'¹

The King was not his complete self unless he was enamoured of some beautiful woman. Whether old or young, he could not live without feminine society. Several ladies were about him, and he was charmed by many of them, but most of all by a Fräulein Marie H., for whom he had at one time sought to procure the post of reader to his sister, the Empress Karoline Auguste. At the beginning of 1852 she awakened some kind of feeling in Ludwig which reminded him 'of the happy blissful days when his heart beat with love'. The girl gave him clearly to understand that there was a barrier—an insuperable barrier—between youth and age, but he would not heed this.

'I would pretend that I were happy,
Feign that I were loved by thee. . . .'²

It is remarkable how people differ. The great actress, Sophie Schroeder, for instance, once said to King Ludwig I that she did not know the glow of love and was actually afraid of it. That was contrary to what the King thought and felt, and in view of this conversation he expressed himself in a poem³ as follows:

'Let me but love, although love bringeth sadness,
Leave me the yearning impulse of the soul
Nor bid me envy those who miss life's gladness.'

¹ 'An Lola vor Rom, 8. Mai, 1851, in der Meinung (der irrigen), sie wäre in sich gegangen.' Munich H.A.

² 'An Maria. Im Theater.' 29th February, 1852. Munich H.A.

³ 'An Sophie Schröder,' 1852. Munich H.A.

Ludwig was anxious to erect a monument to Greece to remind future generations that he had placed his own son at its disposal in order to ensure a happy future and development for the Greek nation. When he visited Otto in Greece he had seen written on a triumphal arch: 'King Ludwig I, the most eminent Philhellene.' He now wished to prove himself worthy of that title. The young kingdom of Greece was still in a very difficult position because England's policy blocked the way everywhere. But that was really beside the question. The fundamental national idea was to be commemorated. It was therefore decided that the square near the Glyptothek should be completed by a mighty antique gateway, the Propylæa, immortalizing Bavaria's share in liberating Greece from the Turkish yoke.

Full of vigour, Ludwig watched the progress of this work. He often walked for three and four hours without resting and, in spite of the heat, felt no fatigue. 'Your husband, who will have the good fortune of having been married to you forty-three years,' he wrote to his wife, 'is still very strong, and to have had such a wife as you is happiness, very great happiness.'¹

In October, 1853, the artists of Munich organized a wonderful torchlight procession on the occasion of the opening of the new Pinakothek, in honour of Ludwig I 'who had opened the gates of fame to the art of the new country'. King Ludwig spoke the truth when he repeated that nearly every King who abdicates leaves the place where his successor lives, so that he may not be reminded that where he once ruled he has no longer any power.

In the autumn of 1854, after visiting Cologne, the King and Queen intended to return to Munich, but they heard that cholera had broken out there. It was therefore decided to wait in Aschaffenburg. At the end of September the doctors declared the epidemic to be over, although occasional cases still occurred, so they returned to Munich on the 7th October. A few days later Queen Therese, now sixty-two years of age, the simple, charming and devoted wife and woman, felt ill. The doctors, who had been summoned hastily, told the horrified King that she had cholera. The end came quickly. Whilst outside the Palace a terrible storm was raging, the King, in despair and fearless, never left his wife's sick-bed. She could hardly speak any more but reached for the small travelling clock which she always used, and pressed it into her husband's hands. At 4 a.m. on 26th October the doctors

¹ Ludwig I to Therese, Berchtesgaden, 28th June, 1853. Munich H.A.

declared that this noble woman had passed away. With loving sympathy the Grand Duchess Mathilde, who had hurried to Munich, led the widower, deeply affected, with tears streaming down his face, from the death-chamber. It was true that he had caused his wife much sorrow during her lifetime and had loved others besides her, yet her sympathetic kindness, her warm heart, and her exemplary motherhood had won his admiration and loving respect. The King's grief at the loss of his faithful partner after forty-four years of married life was deep and real.

Filled with emotion, he opened his wife's will¹: 'Convinced that Our Heavenly Father in His mercy will call me to Him before the King, my dearly loved husband, I wish to express to him my warmest thanks for every token of love with which he beautified my life.' With tears in his eyes Ludwig read what his Therese had wished to say in her last moments when she gave him the little bronze clock. 'May each hour that it strikes be a happy, joyous one for the King, my best friend.' After that followed the apportioning of her personal valuables amongst her children. The jewelry was unequal in value, and it was impossible to be wholly impartial; 'but,' wrote the Queen, 'the children must not measure my love by these, for a mother's love knows no measure.' The death of his faithful companion caused Ludwig to give way to constant outbursts of grief: 'I cannot believe that I shall never again in this life see her for whom I had such deep love,' he wrote to his son Otto. 'But your father is nevertheless not utterly broken; he has great physical and psychic elasticity and can still be his old self amongst pleasant companions.'²

King Ludwig wished to leave Munich and to get away from all the turmoil. He considered the most suitable place would be Darmstadt, where he had already sought refuge twice in the stormy times of his youth. As in all great emotional moments of his life, this time also he sought relief and help in poetry. But his health was affected. He had overtaxed his strength. He still considered himself young and of unlimited endurance; but Nature at last warned him that he could not disregard his sixty-eight years, particularly in conjunction with deep emotional crises. On 14th December Ludwig suddenly fainted at his writing-table and it was an hour and a half before he regained consciousness. As

¹ Queen Therese's Will, Munich, 26th June, 1850, with a codicil dated 11th June, 1853. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to King Otto, Darmstadt, 23rd November, 1854. Munich H.A.

there was a recurrence of this a few days later, the worst was feared. The King even received the last Sacraments; but he finally recovered, although he had to keep his bed for months. The loving care of all around him gave him a new lease of life and a new interest in the events of the world.

After nearly three months, Ludwig was able to go out for the first time. Everyone was delighted at his recovery, and he received congratulations from all sides, also well-meant advice which often contained the most amazing requests. For instance, an ironmonger wrote to him saying that he had something important to tell him which 'the ghosts of spirits with bodies on this earth had told him'. Enclosed was a document with prophecies and supernatural instructions for the preservation of health. King Ludwig, who generally read everything, even the most foolish letters, noted on it in his own handwriting: 'Have not read it for it is repugnant to me to read such prophecies.'

At last Ludwig's health allowed him to leave Darmstadt and think of undertaking a journey to his dearly loved South. It was spring in Rome, Nature was at its most beautiful; the fine air and the sun of the south would give him back his strength as the April rain and fogs of Munich were incapable of doing. There and all along his route Ludwig was received, particularly by the artists, with acclamation and congratulations on his recovery. These demonstrations of affection cheered him tremendously. Everything which had once separated him and his people was forgotten and past. Now only the good he had done for his country was remembered.

Then he started for the south—for Rome. Fifty years had passed since Ludwig had entered the Eternal City for the first time as a young Prince. The artists were celebrating the 'Golden Year' in Rome. Sixty of them sat at a long table and Cornelius rose to propose the toast.

The King did not forget Mariannina, and he visited the Waddingtons at Ascagnano. His friend endeavoured to prove to him that her affection was as great as ever. But Ludwig was sad. His wife's picture was always with him. At the thought of her he often burst into tears. His health, however, improved, the air of Italy strengthened him, and a visit to Berchtesgaden was to complete his cure.

The King's sadness increased in intensity as the anniversary of

¹ Ironmonger S. to Ludwig I, 7th April, 1855. Munich H.A.

the Queen's death approached. Ludwig had the distinct feeling that Therese was close to him and had an urgent desire to give him some sign of her spiritual proximity. It seemed to the King as if someone were touching his left arm. On the anniversary of her death he woke up exactly at the time she died and let the clock strike: 'If she is near me, let her make me feel her presence, I thought, and then again I had the feeling on my left arm. Did it really come from her, or was it because of my desire?'¹ In the early morning of 26th October the King hastened to the park at Nymphenburg and wrote:

'I am near you. . . . I hear the bells of death,
I feel the magnitude of my eternal loss.'²

He frequently saw his wife standing transfigured before him. Even the Christmas Tree on Christmas Eve was converted into a wreath:

'You only lived for others; to make them happy
Was your greatest happiness.'³

Court mourning was over; Carnival approached, and in January the big Court ball took place. The King crept along the Square in front of the Theatiner Church and outside along the Palace, looked up at the brilliantly illuminated windows behind which all the rank and fashion were surrounding his son, and sadly and longingly his thoughts turned to Therese:

'We who were sovereigns but a while ago,
And o'er this brilliant cortège held our sway,
Who sat enthroned while every knee bent low,
Now are but figures of a bygone day.'⁴

Everything was but a shadow, everything hollow, only remembrance was left. The vacant place was painfully evident in the family gathering.

In May of 1856, when the King was watching the progress of the Hall of Liberty at Kehlheim and in his eagerness nearly fell off the scaffolding, the rumour came that Countess Theotoki, formerly Lady Ellenborough and Baroness von Venningen, had been

¹ Ludwig I to Grandduchess Mathilde, Munich, 28th October 1855. Munich H.A.

² '*An meine verklärte Therese*,' on 26th October, 1855. Munich H.A.

³ '*An meine verklärte Therese am Weihnachtsvorabend*.' Extract from a letter from Ludwig I to the Grandduchess Mathilde, Munich, 6th January, 1856. Munich H.A.

⁴ '*An meine geliebte Therese*,' Ball evening in the Palace, Munich, January, 1856. Munich H.A.

murdered in Syria. Ludwig had always been greatly interested in the varying fortunes of this beautiful and passionate woman and had frequently inquired of his son Otto how life was treating her, to whom was she married at the moment, and where she was. This bewitching lady had certainly passed through an adventurous life. She lost her son, Leonidas Theotoki, through an accident. Soon after that, husband and wife quarrelled and were divorced, as each accused the other of unfaithfulness. She then married General Hadji Petros, a much older man, well over sixty, who was Governor of a little group of Greek Islands. For all her forty-eight years, 'Ianthé' was still a very beautiful woman; but this marriage, for various reasons, did not last longer than the rest, and she travelled to Syria. There, in the desert inhabited by wandering Bedouin tribes, she once again lost her heart, this time to an Arab who was acting as escort to her caravan. 'The former Lady Ellenborough is in Damascus,' King Otto reported to his father.¹ 'She has married a Bedouin Sheikh, become converted to the Mahommedan religion . . . and is dressed in Turkish fashion. If she rides with him in the town, she keeps her face veiled.'

The rumours of her murder had no foundation. Her French maid, who found this life rather too adventurous for her tastes, had returned to Athens and described everything to King Otto. Ianthe of the beautiful golden tresses was no more. She had dyed her hair black, because it had begun to grow grey at the temples. She followed her husband—who belonged to a nomad tribe and had pledged himself not to take another wife—often for months at a time through the desert, living in tent and camp with him. She was now richer than ever before as she had recently inherited a fortune, and had bought herself a house in Damascus. 'What an adventurous life!' said King Ludwig, and begged his son Otto in Greece to keep him further informed of the fate of this remarkable woman.

In April, May, and June, 1857, the King was again in Italy and Sicily; he remembered how often he had written to his wife from these places. Lonely, Ludwig wandered about the island; finally, in Paestum, in the shadow of its wonderful temple, he made the acquaintance of two lively German girls, and for some time they were his travelling companions. At the beginning of June he was at the Villa Malta and invited two different artists to dine with him every day. By this time the King had a weather-beaten face,

¹ King Otto to Ludwig I, Athens, 14th and 26th October, 1855. Munich H.A.

his hair was grey, and he stooped as he walked, but his agility and liveliness were still remarkable. His blue eyes were clear and there was much wisdom in his sharp glance.

On his return to Munich from Italy, Ludwig was amazed to see the progress made by the 'rival street' which his son was building. Much with which he was in full agreement had been done in the town, 'but what I do not like is the Maximilianstrasse. The buildings are in a new style, but what a style!'¹

At this time Ludwig was again very restless; he was oppressed and lonely without feminine society. In his sonnets he wrote: 'A little while and the autumn of my life will be past and there will be nothing left on earth for me to desire,' but in spite of these sentiments and his age his heart was still hungering for love. He confessed this in confidence to his sister, Karoline Auguste, and she, who often visited him, was astonished at his bodily vigour and the freshness of his intellect.² Since the death of his wife the King had given expression to his longing for her in seventy poems. This longing was not only for her, but rather for some woman who could still love him. He continued to write to his Italian; this was a habit of thirty-five years which he did not wish to relinquish, but it did not really touch his heart.

On the occasion of a visit to his daughter, the Grand Duchess Mathilde, he became better acquainted with one of her ladies-in-waiting, *Freiin* Carlotta von Breidbach-Bürresheim. He had seen her in previous years, but only hastily in passing. Now it suddenly dawned upon him: No, this is not the end, I am still young and hearty and man enough to charm a woman. How delightfully this girl has developed, how sweet her slender figure, how beautiful and romantic her eyes, made to enslave any man. It was the same old story. In a moment this old King had fallen a victim to the charms of this simple, unassuming, modest girl. With astonishment she saw him pay her every attention and bring her flowers, while he suddenly found it necessary to visit Mathilde in Hesse far more frequently than formerly, or to invite her to Munich, never forgetting to impress upon her not to leave her little lady-in-waiting at home. Mathilde smiled kindly; she knew her old father and his inflammable heart. What could it matter, she thought. Carlotta was a child of eighteen, and her father an old man of

¹ Ludwig I to King Otto, Munich, 30th November, 1857. Munich H.A.

² Empress Karoline Auguste to Ludwig I, Vienna, 1st January, 1858. Munich H.A.

seventy-two. Let him have his harmless pleasure. She had no suspicion that this 'old man' and no one was more angry than he if he were called that — was a volcano whose heart trembled in the presence of this young girl like that of any youth.

It seemed as if a fairy had given Ludwig a magic potion. Carlotta became nervous; she thought of the reputation which Lola Montez had procured for the King and became more and more reserved and shy. But Ludwig entreated:

'Only one look from you, Carlotta, only one look of love.' But she evaded him.

'Oh, are you quite indifferent, Carlotta?'

'But, Your Majesty, we are not alone, I cannot say anything.'

'Well, if lips cannot speak, the eyes are always ready to show the loved one with a glance what is in the heart. That is the language of the soul. The eye understands only too well.'

Every friendly word delighted the King and made him happy. He saw in each a great deal more than was meant and believed it to be an expression of love. Carlotta was devout and therefore Ludwig became devout because of his love for her. 'Tell her,' he wrote to Mathilde, 'that at Mass to-day I prayed for her, and I intend to do this every time. This is a bond between us, a bond which has never united me with any other woman. Religion unites us, it draws me closer to her. What a pleasure it was to speak of the sublime and the eternal to her as we drove home.'¹

Mathilde was to tell Carlotta that the King thought and thought and thought of her. He hoped that this would awaken an answering spark in her heart, which Ludwig would like to see fanned into a flame. He called Carlotta '*la bouche d'or*', because every word from her mouth shone, sparkled, and gave pleasure. But the girl grew more and more reserved and only sent him a message to say that she had prayed for him after Mass. But that was enough for Ludwig: 'I cannot tell you how much that pleases me.' The King had already believed 'Everything is finished, love is no more for me', and now?

Finally the Grand Duchess considered that it was time to curb his ardour. Carlotta begged her to tell the King that she did not know her own mind yet, she was too young to know love, and was not sure whether she could ever feel it, and much more in the same strain. His disappointment was very great. Ludwig had already imagined that she loved him.

¹ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 8th September, 1858. Munich H.A.



CARLOTTA FREIIN BREIDBACH—BÜRRESHEIM, 1861.

Portrait by Friedrich Dürck.

The King was torn from his Indian summer of love by the rumours of war which were current at the beginning of the year 1859. Napoleon III had spoken very sharply to the Austrian Minister on New Year's Day. War between France and the Empire on the Danube for the liberation of the Italian provinces seemed imminent. Russia stood aside and waited her time. The vacillating policy of Vienna at the time of the Crimean War and the ungrateful refusal to accept the sincere overtures of friendship made by Czar Nicholas were now avenged. There was no love in St. Petersburg for the 'Revolution Emperor' on the Seine, and the wounds of the Crimean War were still sore; but a malicious pleasure would be felt if this same Napoleon, to whom Austria had made suspicious advances at the time of the Crimean War, were now to show Vienna how unwise and wrong her policy had been at that time. Everything depended upon what attitude Prussia and the remaining German States would adopt in this matter. Ludwig's views remained unalterable; he stood fast by Austria, if only from an inherent dislike of Bonaparte: 'I never expected to find such hatred as animates the whole of Bavaria against L. Napoleon; he deserves it,' was the King's remark.¹ In his opinion it could not be otherwise; the German States must support Austria in her fight against the arch-enemy, against the nephew of the Corsican, whose sovereignty was only upheld by force.

King Ludwig was still convinced that, in view of the feeling in the country, the final decision must be as he and Austria wished. He expressed himself in this sense to his son Otto: 'Such enthusiastic German sentiment as now inflames Bavaria and is spreading throughout Germany I had never expected; the Tuileries likewise never expected it.'²

Austria hesitated no longer. Without knowing whether Prussia or the other German States would co-operate, she loosed the dogs of war by issuing an ultimatum to Italy on the 23rd April, 1859. But she neglected to prevent a timely alliance between the Sardinians and the French, and the war went against Austria. Prussia noted that Russia watched events under arms. The battles of Magenta and Solferino and the armistice, followed shortly by the peace of Villafranca, put an end to all the King's reflections.

Politics now retired into the background; love for Carlotta

¹ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 23rd May, 1859.

² Ludwig I to King Otto, Munich, 18th May, 1859. Munich H.A.

outweighed all else. After every banquet the King collected sweetmeats with pictures of the Royal Family and sent them to Mathilde for the girl. In every garden he picked flowers for her: 'If only Carlotta would not be cold to me and not misunderstand me. Many have felt warmth and affection for me who were not in love with me . . . and that is what I would like her to feel now.'¹ Shortly after this the Grand Duchess paid a visit to her father in Munich, bringing Carlotta with her. For some time past Ludwig had wished to have Carlotta painted and as Stieler had died the year before, he entrusted the work to that painter's nephew, Friedrich Dürck. This was a new anxiety for the girl, who feared her picture might be placed near that of Lola Montez. Ludwig, however, reassured her on that point and she was so happy that she allowed him to kiss her hands. After that, Mathilde did not reply to one of the questions Ludwig put to Carlotta, and for a long time he heard no more of her: 'Have I again incurred her displeasure? But when and how?' he wondered in consternation.²

Something had really occurred to cause this. Visitors to the *Schönheitsgalerie* had asked that a curtain concealing a picture might be drawn aside. The custodian believed that the visitors hoped to see Lola Montez. He therefore answered: 'The picture of the dancer is no longer here, but one of Fräulein von Breidbach hangs in its place.' This was immediately reported to Carlotta. She was beside herself that such a reply could be given to strangers. She could not understand how her picture was hung there in spite of the royal promise and begged for redress.³ Ludwig was unpleasantly affected, but he loved the girl so much that he overcame it. Love throbbed within him more strongly than ever and found expression in a poem to Carlotta:

'Would that I might fall upon my knees before you,
And press my lips in burning kisses on your hand.'⁴

As there was no response the King decided in September to inform his daughter Mathilde that he intended to go to Rome for four weeks. 'Friendly greetings to Carlotta. Both on this and the

¹ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Weinberg, near Dresden, 11th September, 1859. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 17th and 22nd October, 1859. Munich H.A.

³ Mathilde of Hesse to Ludwig I, Darmstadt, 29th December, 1859. Munich H.A.

⁴ 'An Carlotta,' Poem, Salzburg, 5th September, 1860. Munich H.A.

other side of the Alps you and she will be present in my mind.'¹

Ludwig believed that in the south he would find more peace and distraction, for Carlotta's attitude would be quite different if she really loved him. Mathilde grew anxious when she heard of her father's proposed journey to Italy. Everything down there was in a state of flux—plebiscites, attempts at annexation, Garibaldi's march on Sicily and Naples and the downfall of that monarchy convulsed the peninsula and kept everybody in a state of excitement. And now Ludwig proposed to go into the midst of all this unrest and uncertainty. Mathilde of Hesse had been ailing for some time and was therefore more nervous than usual; she worried about her father and instructed Carlotta to persuade him to give up his journey to Rome. The girl knew how difficult it was to dissuade Ludwig once he had made up his mind to anything. She therefore said to him: 'If I should succeed in obtaining the fulfilment of my request, I would be more devoted to Your Majesty and be your friend through life and death.'

That turned the scale. The King immediately postponed his journey to Rome. He believed that the realization of his dreams was at hand. It would be too wonderful, altogether too wonderful to pass the remaining years of his life at the side of such a lovely, charming young creature. But impossible, such happiness could not be true. Ludwig was immediately beset with doubts. What—his friend through life and death? 'That she believed it when she said it is certain, but will it really be so? . . . I must learn the truth whatever it may be. I will be her friend until death. . . .'²

Carlotta soon made it clear that she had only begged the King to postpone his journey out of consideration for her royal mistress, so that anxiety about her father should not injure the Grand Duchess's health. Disappointed, he discovered that 'sympathy for me had therefore no part in this'.³ Nevertheless, Mathilde was instructed to tell the girl: 'Carlotta was my guardian angel, for had I undertaken the journey I should have gone into the midst of the confusion of war.'

Ludwig wished to go to Darmstadt to speak to the lady alone. At first the idea was discouraged: 'There are so many Ministers

¹ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Aschaffenburg, 1st September, 1860. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Salzburg, 6th September, 1860. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Salzburg, 8th September, 1860. Munich H.A.

there and everything is so closely observed.' Finally, both the visit and the conversation took place, but Carlotta did not change her attitude. She still could not believe that the King was in earnest and even wished to make her his morganatic wife. Up to that time he had not dared to express this dream. The girl therefore declared: 'I will always remain loyal and true to Your Majesty.' But that only made matters worse. In the meantime, however, he overwhelmed her and her sister with presents. He had ordered a charming ball-dress for Carlotta, which gave her real and childish pleasure.

The King was still in Darmstadt when he received a telegram: 'The survivors of the Battle of Leipzig, who are assembled at a commemoration feast, unanimously give three rousing cheers for King Ludwig, the first and foremost German patriot, whose renown is universal.' With his own hand the King wrote: 'I have never received a telegram which gave me so much pleasure. I was always and still am German through and through.'¹ Then he hurried to Carlotta with pride and joy to show her the telegram. He thought that might perhaps influence her and arouse her vanity. The girl was miserably embarrassed but maintained her reserve. Dissatisfied with the results of his journey, the King left Darmstadt with a heavy heart. As soon as he was back in Munich he wrote to Mathilde: 'Tell Carlotta that my thoughts are always with her and that the future is the present with me. Tell her that word for word.'² Carlotta unfortunately gave me less applause than any one, but I much prefer that she should always speak as she feels. May she always remain truthful³. . . I rely upon her character which I esteem highly; tell her that I think of her night and day.'⁴

All the former friendships faded away in his love for this girl. Only 'Ianthé's' adventurous life still interested Ludwig. Events of great import had also taken place in Syria. The Druses, a warlike Syrian tribe, had risen in the summer of 1860 and massacred the Christians in Damascus. 'Ianthé,' who had now become to all intents and purposes a Bedouin in the desert, fed and milked the camels, helped with the loading and unloading, and slept either in a tent or even in the open desert, happened by chance to be in

¹ *Erinnerungskomiteé* to King Ludwig I, Munich, 16th October, 1860. The King's note is dated Darmstadt, 17th October, 1860. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Grandduchess Mathilde, 5th December, 1860. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Grandduchess Mathilde, 10th December, 1860. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to Grandduchess Mathilde, Munich, 15th December, 1860. Munich H.A.

the town with her Sheik, an elderly, insignificant man. As nothing was heard of her after the massacre, every one feared she had fallen a victim to the fanaticism of the Druses; but this was not so. On the contrary, with the help of her husband, 'Ianthé'¹ had rescued many Christians in the quarters of the Arabian Emir, Abd el Kader. Some time later, however, she and her husband were forced to take to the desert again and to wander from place to place to escape the vengeance of the Mussulmans.²

Ludwig acknowledged with admiration the 'excellent conduct of this brave woman on the occasion of the massacre of the Christians'.³ She had remained young and active like himself and that pleased him. It irritated him beyond measure when, for instance, the expression 'the venerable King' occurred in an otherwise friendly article in a Mainz newspaper. 'The devil take this word which is not compatible with my fair hair and my loving heart; even if it is suited to my seventy-four years.'⁴ Nevertheless, Ludwig's age was becoming apparent. He was at this time a tall, slight, somewhat bent figure of an old man, with a haggard, furrowed face, ironically curved lips, and sparse fair hair sprinkled with silver threads. Plainly dressed, Ludwig wandered through Munich, lifted the veils of passing ladies, spoke first with one and then with another on the street, and often embarrassed people greatly by his indelicate jokes. Up to that time he had maintained great secrecy with regard to his infatuation for Carlotta von Breidbach. Now rumours leaked through and the gossips in Munich and Darmstadt were busy. 'The King has again fallen violently in love,' they said, 'a young girl is his victim. Sometimes she comes to Munich, sometimes he goes to Darmstadt. The old game is being repeated. Who knows how it will all end?' Already there was talk of a morganatic marriage outside Bavaria and of a joint household on the Riviera, etc., etc. Grand Duchess Mathilde and Carlotta, whose brother-in-law kept her informed of everything, were alarmed. That could not be allowed to go on. The reputation of a blameless lady of the Court was at stake.

¹ King Otto to Ludwig I, Athens, 1st to 13th October, 1860. Munich H.A.

² The former Lady Ellenborough, *née* Digby, King Ludwig's 'Ianthé', remained a faithful wife to the Bedouin Sheik for nearly twenty-five years, until her death. It was said that at sixty she was as fascinating as she had been at sixteen. She died in August, 1881, in Damascus. Full details of her career may be found in E. M. Oddie's interesting *Portrait of Ianthe*.

³ Ludwig I to King Otto, Darmstadt, 31st October, 1860. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to the Grandduchess Mathilde, Munich, 15th December, 1860. Munich H.A.

It was certainly true that nothing had happened of which either Carlotta or the King had any reason to be ashamed, but none the less evil tongues were wagging and a young girl of marriageable age has to be particularly careful of her reputation. Carlotta went to the Duchess: 'Your Royal Highness, I beg leave to break off all communication with His Majesty the King, otherwise my whole future will be endangered.'

Mathilde realized that the girl was right, although she found it difficult to hurt her old father so deeply. But there was no choice. The Grand Duchess prepared for her journey to Munich and took Carlotta with her. The whole matter was then brought up for discussion. His daughter told the King of the slander and evil gossip in connection with the completely innocent relations between him and Carlotta, and indicated that the only way of stopping this would be complete separation and avoidance of each other. King Ludwig was cut to the heart; Mathilde had never believed that he would be so affected. He finally agreed to meet Carlotta's wishes as there was nothing else to be done, but he begged to be allowed to accompany his daughter and her 'dear lady-in-waiting' as far as Augsburg in order 'at least to enjoy the delight of her presence as long as possible'.

Completely broken down, ashen-grey, and ten years older, the King returned to Munich after this 'dreadful parting'. The feeling of joyous youthfulness of which he had been so proud had vanished. Evil tongues had ruined his happiness, he considered, and they would now also destroy his health. He was deeply depressed, just as he had been when his loved Therese had been called away. 'I am glad,' he wrote to Mathilde,¹ 'glad to be able to suffer for her sake. This will prove to you how deeply rooted she was in my life.' As soon as Ludwig felt better he sat down at his writing-table on which stood a portrait of Carlotta. 'The number of those who inquire after me is enormous,' he reported. 'That they should desire my recovery is kindness in itself, but it would have been still kinder if a certain number of them had not spoiled my innocent relations with Carlotta through their slanders.'² Mathilde was alarmed. An anxious letter with much good advice was dispatched to Munich. 'I talked a great deal to Carlotta about my dear little father,' it ran. Immediately she received a reply: 'Tell me in your next letter what she said about me.' Perhaps, perhaps,

¹ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 23rd February, 1861. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 25th April, 1861. Munich H.A.

matters were not quite so bad. Ludwig clutched at every straw.

Then came the day when he received the news that Lola Montez had died in New York on 17th January, 1861. The King had long since torn this unhappy woman from his heart. All the others who had once given him happy hours he did not forget. Years later he was mindful of them, showered favours on them, and remained loyal in his gratitude. But it was quite different with Lola Montez. He did not wish to hear anything more of her although he still supported her financially; he never spoke of her, and she remained the bitterest and most terrible disappointment of his life. Now a friend wrote to him that long before her death the dancer had repented. 'That I would never have suspected,' was King Ludwig's opinion; 'but that she always mentioned me "with regard" is confirmed by this letter. . . .'¹ But the King's condition of mind did not let him brood much over the death of the woman who had caused his downfall. The charming picture of the youthful Carlotta, who had been torn from him forcibly, was all too vividly before him. Deep down in some corner of his heart a spark of hope still glowed. Ludwig was unhappy that Mathilde had not fallen in with his wishes and written to tell him what Carlotta said about him. 'Do answer my question. What a pity, what a pity that slander poured its poison over her and me! How happy and harmless the end of my life could have been in innocent friendship with her. It sometimes seems to me as if my separation from her could not be real.'²

When he had finished the letter, King Ludwig felt cold and had pains in his joints; he had to lie down on the sofa and whilst he lay there dreaming he thought of a verse to Carlotta. Hardly had he written it down when every trace of pain vanished as if by magic. 'Give her this poem, Mathilde. Tell her the circumstances under which it was written and how I always think of her and that she is ever present in my mind.'

Ludwig was invited to stay with his sister in the Weilburg in Baden, near Vienna. Shortly before starting, he added a codicil to his will leaving Carlotta a considerable sum of money. Ludwig sent her a message to say that it was mentioned in the will that she had won his esteem but there was no mention of the word love.³

¹ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 25th April, 1861. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, 2nd May, 1861. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, 7th June, 1861. Munich H.A.

On the journey the King thought only of Carlotta, and it was not until he saw the venerable monuments of Vienna that his thoughts were distracted.

Returning to Munich, the King began to write to his daughter again, chiefly about Carlotta: 'I tell you, dear Mathilde, that I am still capable of loving ardently like a youth, but no other than Carlotta. What adverse fate has decreed that she should not feel the slightest love for me, whilst others whom I do not even care for, feel such devotion? You can tell her that. Carlotta and no other, and if it should ever happen that another woman made an impression upon me, I would struggle against it so that love should not result from it—a thing I have never yet done in all my life.'¹

Mathilde began to feel a great pity for her father. After all, she thought, why not a hasty meeting at the Heiligenberg? She invited her old father, and he saw Carlotta again. Ludwig was overcome with happiness and noticed that the young lady-in-waiting greeted him quite naturally. But he could observe no change in her attitude towards him. Deeply pained, the King returned to Munich. Did this girl really think he was a decrepit old man who had no right to dream of love? Did she not know that ever so many beautiful women had surrounded him in Munich and elsewhere and attempted to lead him astray? Only lately there was a charming southern woman. Yes, she must hear of that, it would impress her. He wrote immediately to the Grand Duchess: 'I am not speaking of invitations now . . . but of really great temptations . . . but I triumphed. . . . I was strengthened by the thought of Carlotta, although she does not love me in the least and wishes to break off all friendship completely—and that with a cheerful heart. You see that I am not practising any self-deception in the matter. Read this page out to her.'² Mathilde of Hesse endeavoured to calm Ludwig, 'Dear little Father, rest assured that Carlotta is friendly towards you.'

'I am convinced that she believes that, but wherein does her friendship consist? Where this exists, both parties to it, whether they are of the same sex or not, wish to speak to each other, to pour out their hearts to each other, but Carlotta refuses to have anything to do with me . . . this, you must admit yourself, is unlike any other friendship.'³ Alas, it was only Ludwig's imagination

¹ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 24th October, 1861. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 18th November, 1861. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 3rd December, 1861. Munich H.A.

that had led him into thinking that Carlotta had any feeling for him.¹

Although King Ludwig did not feel at all well, he never gave himself any rest; he returned home tired out and had to go to bed again for some time, and was unsettled and restless. Empress Karoline Auguste heard of all this; even though, oddly enough, she was not drawn into the secret, she was informed that something was not quite in order with Ludwig. 'My dear little brother, spare yourself a little,' the kindly woman wrote from Vienna.² 'It is not possible to do the same at seventy-five as at fifty, although you do more than thousands of others of the same age.'

The latent irritation, resulting from the separation from the girl he loved, often manifested itself in bitter remarks made impartially to all around him. From his earliest youth Ludwig had never minced matters; his principle was always to be unkind rather than false. Now he often told people the most unbelievable things to their face; as, for instance, when several young ladies were introduced to him, he asked one of them if her grandmother, Princess M., then aged eighty-three, still had a lover.³

In former days the King's deficiencies and remarks had always been redeemed and excused by his cheerful and kindly manner, but now biting sarcasm was very evident. This was due to the inward unrest which had its origin in the King's growing recognition of the fact that Carlotta had escaped him: Ludwig had to realize that in spite of everything he did or said, in spite of his high position, he was no longer capable of winning the love of a woman. A year had passed since he had seen Carlotta. 'A year in which I have not exchanged a word with her of whom I always think. Carlotta is my last love.'⁴ Ludwig never stopped hoping and dreaming that the girl would change her mind. How delightful! But, alas, it was only a dream.

The King decided to go to Darmstadt again. He was in better health, but Mathilde was ill. What more natural than that a father should visit his sick daughter? 'In any case, I must see Carlotta again, and after sixteen months' separation a friend has much to say to a friend alone.' The Grand Duchess replied: 'I am so pleased,

¹ 'In der Schönaue bei Berchtesgaden,' 7th July, 1861. Poem to Carlotta. Munich H.A.

² Empress Karoline Auguste to Ludwig I, Vienna, 28th December, 1861. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, Munich, 12th January, 1862. Munich H.A.

⁴ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, 18th February, 1862. Munich H.A.

dear little Father, that you are coming, and you can speak to Carlotta in my apartment.' 'Those are sweet words,' Ludwig answered and enclosed a poem to the girl. 'Your willingness and hers cheer me.'¹ The preparations for the journey were already made when his daughter's state of health suddenly became worse. The doctors had to forbid all visits and excitement, and consequently the King had to give up his project. But it was impossible to save his daughter's life and she died on 25th May, 1862.

Ludwig was in Bad Brückenau when he received the news. It affected him very deeply. He loved his clever daughter Mathilde dearly, and, in addition, all connection with Carlotta was now broken off. He missed his daughter's good advice very greatly; she had always been able to prevent a final declaration to her lady-in-waiting. But this was now bound to take place. Ludwig felt he must know for certain how matters stood. Upon his definite question whether Carlotta would share the remaining years of his life with him, the young girl gave a very decisive answer.

'Forgive me, Your Majesty, I have always said that I would tell you the truth. I swore to you that I would do so. You yourself made the request and therefore I must stand by it. I absolutely cannot.'

Sadly and with bitterness in his heart, the King returned to Brückenau. 'Oh, how different it was² last time I was in Brückenau. I believe that I was your choice just as you were mine. Nobody here was allowed to know of my love.' Now the dream was over; still Ludwig wished to keep his love for the girl and safeguard her future in every way: 'We must never become strangers, never. I will remain Carlotta's true friend until death.'³

During this sad time a bronze statue had been erected to King Ludwig in Munich, as a token of homage during his lifetime and also with some idea of making up to him for what had once taken place. The burghers had spoken of this intention years ago and had submitted plans. The King chose a design by Schwanthaler made at one time for the statue of an Hungarian horseman, the principal figure in it being led by two pages on the right and left.

¹ Ludwig I to Mathilde of Hesse, 4th April, 1862. Munich H.A.

² To Carlotta, Bad Brückenau, 4th June, 1862. Munich H.A.

³ Draft of a letter from Ludwig I to Carlotta v. Breidbach, written from Bad Brückenau, 13th June, 1862. Munich H.A.

There was only one thing the King did not like about it. He had never been a good horseman. In Schwanthaler's design the boys led the horse by the bridle. Ludwig remarked: 'That must be changed. It offers too good a target for bad jokes about my riding and perhaps also indicates a doubt whether I really ever ruled or guided the destinies of my country. When strange hands seized the reins I let them go, but as long as I ruled, I did so personally.' Ludwig avoided being present at the unveiling; he was not in the mood for it and in addition he considered the erection of a monument during his lifetime rather a painful proceeding.

After this, the King could not remain at home any longer. He must get away to shake off the terrible impression made by the death of his daughter and the end of his love affair. Mariannina continued to write to him. Her letters already bore the number 1690, whereas those of the King had passed 2600. Yes, he thought, it would be best to go to Italy—to Rome, to see the artists, those joyous cheery people—to seek distraction, to forget and also to take this opportunity of visiting his old friend and talking to her intimately about the old days.

And so, on 10th September, Ludwig was again in his beloved Villa Malta. 'Only in Rome is it possible to live and be happy,' he said to the artists who received him. He again visited the studios and did not hesitate to make embarrassing remarks. In the studio of the sculptor Kopf the King stopped before Amor and stood looking at it for a long time. 'What a lot of trouble this little God has made for me in my life,'¹ he said sadly.

The King told Mariannina that he might be coming, but now he thought: Shall I tell my old friend anything of the episode with Carlotta? She will certainly have heard something spiteful about it. No, it is better that I should not go. And he sent a telegram cancelling his visit. She, however, had told everyone that the King was visiting her; it was even in the papers. She was afraid of being made a laughing-stock and wrote him urgent letters to persuade him to alter his decision. 'Do come, I am sad and long for you. What does the whole world matter if the heart is sad?'

Ludwig still suffered from his broken heart. Even in Rome he was reminded at every step of this adored girl. He wrote one poem after another laying bare his innermost feelings. He discovered that 'Roma' read backwards becomes 'Amor' and that both rule the world.

¹ Kopf, *Erinnerungen*, p. 245.

'I was always submissive to love, nor asked to be freed,
For God Amor alone gives me happiness. . . .'¹

But the dream was over; the refusal was definite and the future wrapped in darkness. It was no use pretending otherwise—he had received a rebuff.

Mariannina's letters grew more pressing. If Ludwig did not wish to come to Ascagnano—she realized that he did not care for Waddington—would he not come to Leghorn, where his old friend was taking the baths and where she would be alone? At last Ludwig agreed to this: 'Oh, what joy, what rapture after such a long time, after so much sorrow!' was her enthusiastic answer.² Mariannina expected that the King would pour out his heart to her at Leghorn, but he said no word about Carlotta. He was merely particularly kind and friendly to Mrs. Waddington: 'You are a rare friend,' she gushed, 'you overwhelm all who come near you with your goodness. Your solicitous affection has increased so greatly that it is surely unique among men.'³

From Leghorn the King went direct to Munich, where the magnificent Gate of the Propylæa had just been completed; in the centre towered the figure of the King of Greece, who at first was not at all pleased with it. Otto knew that he had never been good-looking, but his likeness on the tympanum put a strain upon his vanity.⁴

All that has now been altered and the gateway opened to traffic. The memorial was scarcely completed when the Bavarian Monarchy in Greece, which it was supposed to commemorate, collapsed. This meant complete destruction of all Ludwig I's work, but to-day Greece still recognizes that he was one of the first who supported that oppressed country in its fight for liberty. When he sent his son there to be King he was considering not only the glory of his own dynasty, but also the welfare and happiness of that country for which he had felt such sympathy. To the end of his life Ludwig did not ascribe his son's expulsion to the Greeks, but to the Powers of Western Europe.

In spite of all, the King always kept alive a small spark of hope that Carlotta would change her mind; but early in the year 1862

¹ *An Carlotta in Rom*, Villa Medici, 15th September, 1862. Munich H.A.

² Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Ascagnano, 13th October, 1862. Munich H.A.

³ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Ascagnano, 30th October, 1862. Munich H.A.

⁴ King Otto to Ludwig I, Athens, 15th to 27th August, 1859. Munich H.A.

even this spark was extinguished. Ludwig heard that she had become engaged to Count Philipp von Boos zu Waldeck. The King was staying at Nice when he received the news. It was a bitter blow but he took it well and gallantly. The fifty thousand gulden which he had left her in his will were paid over immediately and another fifty thousand were promised. But it was well that Ludwig was away from home, for it would have been difficult for him to hear the wedding discussed. The beauties of nature, the distractions of the Riviera, and the wonderful climate of Nice, latterly essential for his health, helped him in a great measure through these bad days. His Carlotta dream was at an end, and there was no more necessity for reserve in regard to other women. In Nice King Ludwig became acquainted with a Señora Antonita Y., who charmed and delighted him. But there was a great difference between his unfortunate love for Carlotta and his attraction to this lady—it was more mundane and sensuous, but it was nevertheless the love of a woman without which Ludwig, even in his old age, could not live. When the King returned in the summer to Bad Brückenau, the Baths' Management received instructions to prepare an apartment for the Señora in the Princes' House. It almost seemed to be a kind of revenge for his recent disappointment. The beautiful warm days passed quickly, autumn approached and the leaves were falling.

The King's health was no longer very good. The emotional crises through which he had passed in the episode with Carlotta had had injurious results. His seventy-seven years were beginning to have their effect, and he was advised to go south again, particularly to Algiers. Recently Ludwig had experienced some difficulty in breathing and the doctors advised the warm dry desert air. During the crossing from Marseilles the ship ran into a terrible storm, and was tossed about for forty-three hours. Two lackeys, who stood by the King's bed to prevent him from falling out, were on one occasion hurled with such force on to the bed that all three lay inextricably entangled. Ludwig was about to scold them, when he realized the humour of the situation and burst into laughter.

At first the King was not satisfied with his stay in Algiers, but soon the eternal spring which reigns there did him good and he was able to take up his life anew. He permitted the French Generals to invite him, visited noble Arab families in their Moorish houses, walked and made excursions. At Christmas Ludwig felt

homesick. For him his stay in Algiers was only a means to an end. He was there only to breathe 'air for the prolongation of life'.¹

At festivals and dances in the Arab villages the King compared the dark, dusky-eyed women of the south with the beauties of the north. But somehow he could not enjoy his stay. Some inner unrest troubled him, but the doctors dissuaded him from returning home until the weather grew warmer.

Suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, came unexpected and sad news. A telegram announced the sudden death of King Maximilian II on 10th March. He had suffered from severe headaches for twenty-eight years, all his life he had been troubled with palpitations of the heart, with nervousness, and a feeling of faintness. He had had a stroke and died without regaining consciousness.

The utterly unexpected death of his eldest son shook the King profoundly. Although he had not been on good terms with his firstborn and had therefore been particularly careful not to interfere with his activities, this sudden tragic end overwhelmed him. It would have been impossible for Ludwig to reach Munich from Algiers in time for the funeral, and the doctors forbade his return at this chilly and variable time of year. The King had therefore to resign himself to stay some time longer in Algiers. But he found no more peace and kept wondering: What will happen to Bavaria now, with an immature boy of eighteen occupying the Throne for which he has had no preparation?

¹ *Freiherr von Jeetze, König Ludwig I. in Algier*, in No. 45 of '*Der Sammler*'.

THE ROYAL GRANDCHILD

DEATH OF LUDWIG I

1864-8

On his arrival in Africa, Ludwig I had felt tired and ill, but now he was fresh and full of vigour and would have liked to take up again the reins of government which were more or less in the hands of an inexperienced boy. At last the time for the return journey approached. What would Munich be like now? The new King, Ludwig II, who had been born on the same day of the year as his grandfather and bore his name, had always been the old King's favourite. On receipt of the news of his birth Ludwig had embraced everyone within reach without discrimination and had offered to act as godfather. He had showered toys and presents of all kinds on the little Crown Prince. It had pleased him particularly when the boy had manifested a preference for a box of wooden bricks with which it had been possible for him to construct the Arch of Triumph. 'He loves building,' the King wrote in 1852; 'I saw him construct a building surprisingly well and in very good taste. I see a great resemblance between the future Ludwig II and the politically eliminated Ludwig I;—even in his devotion to his governess I recognize myself.'¹

King Maximilian had not had a happy way with his children and could not win their love. Ludwig I noticed with a certain pleasure that the boy was more demonstratively affectionate to his grandfather than to his father. And there were other points of contact. Schiller had always been the first Ludwig's favourite poet: he now became the favourite with the second. Ludwig II flung himself upon the poet's works with avidity, knew most of them by heart and was able to act them with real talent. The grandfather noticed also—and this with great anxiety—that even at the age of thirteen or fourteen, Ludwig II evinced an extravagant imagination and at times was even subject to hallucinations, although this occurred only at rare intervals.

¹ Gottfried von Böhm, *Ludwig II., König von Bayern*, Berlin, 1922, p. 2.

Ludwig I was able to instil into the mind of his grandson the same proud conception of a King's power which, in spite of all vicissitudes, he had retained to the end of his reign. The young King's nature was only too receptive to such teachings. But the new King did not regard his grandfather as the ideal embodiment of kingship; he remembered that his grandfather's name had in turn come to him through his godfather, King Louis XVI of France, and in his dreams he regarded Louis XIV as the prototype in whose footsteps he would follow. That he was now King was suddenly brought home to his consciousness in the most overwhelming manner when, standing gravely, but all too indifferently, by his father's death-bed, he was addressed by a page as 'Your Majesty'. Very soon the realization of his power was to delight and intoxicate him.¹

In addition, Ludwig I was charmed with his grandson's appearance. The young King was as handsome as Apollo; with his wonderful blue eyes in which burned a secret fire, his noble features and slight erect figure, he made an ideal prince. Ludwig I saw in him the magic key of personal beauty, his own life-long lack, which opens all doors - even those most carefully guarded.

The young King immediately wrote most affectionately to his grandfather asking his advice and help. Ludwig I was genuinely touched; 'You wrote me such a charming letter, and you have always treated me in the same way. You have come early to the Throne and in difficult times; may God always help you, and may religion influence all your actions and be your constant support.'²

The new King hoped for advice and assistance particularly in political matters, of which he knew nothing and for which it was soon apparent he had no liking. As in the case of Ludwig I, all his leanings were artistic, but in an exaggerated form, for love of art filled his mind to the exclusion of all else. It was soon evident that the young King had conjured up a dream world for himself which he wished to realize by means of the power he had suddenly acquired as king. The paintings of episodes from the story of Lohengrin, the Knight of the Swan, which were in the Castle of Hohenschwangau, had made a great impression on the youth. In 1861, at the age of 15, he had attended a performance of the opera *Lohengrin* which made such an ineradicable impression

¹ Böhm, p. 12.

² Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Algiers, 12th April, 1864. Munich H.A.



KING LUDWIG II.

upon his vivid imagination that from that time he regarded the composer as the embodiment of ideal art. Immediately after his accession, he sent *Staatsrat* von Pfistermeister to visit Wagner and to secure him at any cost for Munich. The invitation reached Richard Wagner, then 50 years of age, at a moment when he was in great financial difficulties, deserted by the majority of his supporters, out of favour, persecuted by jealousy, and almost desperate. While to the composer the change in his fortune appeared like a miracle from heaven, the relations between these two, to which this was the prelude, became in Ludwig II's own words 'the sun of my life and the source of my salvation'.¹

On 4th May, 1864, Richard Wagner was received for the first time by the young King: 'Our meeting was a great love scene which appeared to have no desire to end,' wrote Wagner.² Ludwig II assured the composer³: 'Now that the purple robe has descended upon me, now that I have the power, I will use it, as far as in me lies, to sweeten your life. I will banish for ever the meaner cares of every-day existence which circle around your head⁴ and give you the peace you long for, so that your mighty genius can develop undisturbed in the pure ether of your wonderful art.'

At first Ludwig I regarded this enthusiastic action of his successor benevolently, for he remembered that he himself, at the beginning of his reign, had encouraged art and artists much in the same way. Why should not his grandson do so? The old King had purposely not stayed long in Munich after his return but had moved to Aschaffenburg to avoid any appearance of interfering in the new order of things. There he received the letters of Ludwig II, who showed his grandfather every attention in connection with the settling up of Maximilian's affairs. 'It is most kind and considerate of you.' Ludwig I thanked him warmly,⁵ and the young King replied affectionately: 'You may rest assured that I shall always wish to give you pleasure.'⁶ It seemed, therefore, that quite different relations were to exist between grandfather

¹ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, 20th April, 1865. Böhm, p. 46.

² Richard Wagner to Mathilde Maier, 5th May, 1864. *Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds* and Winifred Wagner, Ludwig II and Richard Wagner, *Correspondence*, 1936-7, vol. I. xxxv (in future referred to as *Correspondence*).

³ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Munich, 28th May, 1864. *Correspondence*, I/12.

⁴ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Munich, 5th May, 1864. *Correspondence*, I/11.

⁵ Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Aschaffenburg, 15th June, 1864. Munich H.A.

⁶ Ludwig II to Ludwig I, Kissingen, 26th June, 1864. Munich H.A.

and grandson from those which had existed between father and son.

On 2nd July the young King visited Ludwig I at Aschaffenburg, and in the course of long conversations the latter encouraged his grandson in his ideas of kingship, which were already in an advanced state of development in the young ruler. His love and sympathy were further strengthened by the understanding his grandfather showed for his ideals in art, which culminated in Wagner's 'perfect works, in which poetry and music are wonderfully blended'. Ludwig I cautioned him against the so-called 'Progressive Party', who, under cover of their attractive name, only wished to inveigle the King into relinquishing his power to them: 'Choose Ministers who are submissive to you and who think in terms of the Monarchy. You will understand that my sole wish is for your good. I am an old man myself and desire nothing further from this life; I wish only for the welfare of Bavaria and of the Monarchy—which is at the same time your welfare. Others have some self-interest to serve. I have none.' The old King's words made a tremendous impression on Ludwig II. He looked up to his grandfather with shy reverence. Yes, he is right; he is an incorruptible adviser, he has no personal interests to serve, I must listen to him as much as possible. As soon as the young King had left Aschaffenburg, he wrote an affectionate letter thanking his grandfather for his kind welcome. Ludwig I was delighted. It seemed to him as if a new lease of life had been given him through this grandson, and he was particularly pleased that in spite of his high estate the young King had retained his childlike¹ ways with him.

On 25th August the two Kings celebrated their birthday. It was a double festival throughout Bavaria, and the young King sent his best wishes to his grandfather, who was staying at Ludwigshöhe. 'The day opens with sunshine,' replied Ludwig I.² 'May this be a good omen for you; but the sky is not cloudless—just as life is never cloudless. You have grown still dearer to me since you came to the Throne and I have learned to know you better. May your life fulfil the promise it now gives.'

The old King followed carefully the development of political matters at home, but otherwise he lived a quiet and regular life at Ludwigshöhe. He rose at a quarter past four and spent his

¹ Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Aschaffenburg, 4th July, 1864. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Ludwigshöhe, 25th August, 1864. Munich H.A.

time in reading and writing with an occasional walk in between. Dinner was at half-past four in the afternoon, then he played the piano and at a quarter past six went for a short drive. He was generally in bed by nine o'clock unless some evening entertainment took him from home. The winter in Algiers having greatly improved his health, the doctors advised him again to spend the winter in the south. At first Ludwig refused to do this. He wished to be near the young King during his preliminary steps as ruler—and to intervene if necessary. When, however, everything seemed to be going on satisfactorily Ludwig decided to go to Rome, but only after he had told the King's Cabinet Secretary to send him detailed reports on all political events at home and on the King's conduct generally.

In the Eternal City the King followed his usual occupations. He visited artists, he enjoyed all the sights of the town ; but his attention, as had not been the case during his son's reign, was always centred on events in his own country. From Bavaria came news which made him anxious. The young King who at first had thrown himself with great ardour into the affairs of State had, since the advent of Richard Wagner, withdrawn himself from them in a remarkable manner. He had spent the whole summer with the composer at his mountain Castle of Hohenschwangau and had scarcely shown himself in his capital. It was only natural under these circumstances that the Cabinet under *Staatsrat* von Pfistermeister attained to greater importance than under previous kings.

Ludwig II was glad to have 'such an excellent Minister as Pfordten'¹ if only because he left him more time to devote to Richard Wagner, for whom the King displayed the wildest enthusiasm. The first performance of the 'Flying Dutchman', on 4th December, 1864, made a tremendous impression upon the sensitive youth. 'I can only worship you,' he cried to Wagner, 'and thank the powers that led me to you. . . . A mere mortal cannot recompense a heavenly genius, but he can love and honour him. You are my first and only love and will ever remain so.'²

Ludwig I was too far away to judge this friendship between a genius and a Maecenas who, with boundless generosity, enabled the genius to devote himself to his art—a friendship unique in

¹ Ludwig II to Ludwig I, Munich, 1st February, 1865. Munich H.A.

² Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Munich, 11th December, 1864. *Correspondence*, I/40.

the history of the world and only comparable to a raging mountain torrent carrying everything before it. One man only to be so greatly favoured! That was bound to lead to jealousy and hatred, and at first possibly to misunderstanding amongst the masses and the chief Ministers and officials, who considered that the King had other duties besides helping and living only for a musician, however gifted he might be.

Whilst a regular campaign developed at home against Wagner and the preference shown him by the young King, Ludwig I's letters show that he was mainly concerned with the political measures which appeared to him dangerous to the King's powers. But he adopted no attitude with regard to the Wagner question, which now began to arouse feverish interest in Munich. 'Let there be no *douces illusions*,' Ludwig I admonished his grandson from Rome.¹ 'You possess the best will in the world, have plenty of intelligence, but you cannot have had experience. The Progressive Party will only be satisfied when the *Landtag* rules in Munich as Parliament does in England, and the King has no power whatever.'

Ludwig feared that the foundations of the Throne would be shaken. The King never mentioned Wagner; it was only when he returned from Italy that he gained any idea of the storms that were raging in Munich about the person of the composer-poet. There was jealousy at his favoured position with the King. Most of the members of the Royal Family, the majority of the aristocracy, who felt slighted,² and also the Church which regarded the poet as a pagan, united to bring Wagner's revolutionary past of 1848 into the limelight, the more so owing to his close connections with the Progressive Party. A regular campaign had therefore developed against Wagner—a systematic and well-organized crusade—which went to such lengths that Josephine Kaulbach on 30th May, 1865, expressed the feeling in Munich in the words: 'Since the Lola affair the people of Munich have not been so enraged. . . . I tell you that what is taking place here for and against Wagner is quite incredible.'³

The old King was greatly concerned about all this on his return to Munich. The Royal Family urged him to make an appeal to

¹ Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Rome, 30th April, 1865. Munich H.A.

² The family of Duke Max in Bavaria, the wife of General von der Tann, her sister Countess Voss, Count Drechsel, the Countess Lerchenfeld-Köfering belonged from the first to the pro-Wagner faction. See Sebastian Röckl, Ludwig II and Richard Wagner, Munich, 1913 and 1920, I/73.

³ Correspondence, I/48.

Ludwig II, who was living at Schloss Berg, quite isolated and in strict seclusion. *Staatsrat* von Pfistermeister and Minister von der Pfordten sought an audience with Ludwig I and complained to him that they both felt slighted; Richard Wagner was obviously preferred before them and that hurt their vanity. Nevertheless, they did not wish to oppose the King themselves but preferred to send his grandfather into the fray. Von der Pfordten quite sincerely expressed the opinion that a king must surely care more for affairs of State than for music: 'It is sometimes six weeks before I can report to the King personally,' he said indignantly.

Pfistermeister complained, on the other hand, of the extravagance of his royal master. That must be clear to everyone, particularly to the economically-minded King Ludwig I. Both the Ministers were aware that they were touching a vulnerable point when they referred to Richard Wagner's undoubted connection with the Progressive Party, as they knew the ex-King feared that Party greatly in the interests of the preservation of the royal prerogative. On the other hand, Ludwig I did not wish to see his grandson coerced into making decisions as he himself had been in the Lola Montez affair. He had not forgotten that it was the same aristocracy and the same clergy who now opposed Ludwig II's infatuation for Richard Wagner. Someone had spitefully given the composer the nickname of 'Lolus'; it was certainly witty but unutterably vile. The nickname passed from mouth to mouth and finally reached the ears of King Ludwig I. At first he smiled, but later this malicious joke had the opposite effect to what people expected. He was extremely sensitive if anyone touched on the old wound which even now was not quite healed; and it is almost certain that he never said the words that have been ascribed to him: 'Very sad, this peculiar behaviour of my grandson, but it won't last long, the population will soon put an end to it.'¹ The interference by unauthorized persons had always been abhorrent to King Ludwig, and he would certainly be the last to tempt fortune in that way. But it suited the parties fighting against Richard Wagner to spread sayings such as these as coming from the old King to prove that he was on the side of clerical and anti-Wagner circles.

Ludwig I thought it necessary to visit his grandson in Berg

¹ Blome to Mensdorff, Munich, 26th May, 1865. The remark is contained in a private letter, the authenticity of which is not equal to that of an official report. Blome said: 'The people call Richard Wagner "Lolus", and King Ludwig I is supposed to have said yesterday to someone: "Very sad, etc. . . ."'

and to discuss the situation with him, seriously endeavouring to make him realize the aims of the Progressive Party. As Wagner was connected with this Party, it was obvious that the old King did not side with the composer, but neither did he take sides against him as many would have liked and wished to make others believe. King Ludwig earnestly advised his grandson to remove Max von Neumayr, the Minister of the Interior, who, according to Wagner, was 'the only liberal man in the Ministry'. He was dangerous, and the Conservative Party consisting of the real patriots had serious doubts about him.

The visit to his grandson made a great impression upon the old King. Ludwig II was awaiting with the greatest enthusiasm and ardent expectation the first performance of 'Tristan', which had been fixed for 10th June, 1865. His 'divine' love for Wagner which made itself felt in every word the young King spoke, and the fact that the boy appeared to live in other spheres, was bound to affect a man like Ludwig I, devoted as he was to art and beauty. He had heard the criticisms, but now he beheld the workings of his grandson's mind. This aspect had not been granted to the outside world for it could not penetrate the confidence and affection of the young King, who secluded himself from the world. There was no possibility of winning Ludwig I over to the opposition, partly because of his natural ties with the Monarchy, but also for compassionate reasons. He supported both Pfistermeister and von der Pfordten, but only because he considered them to be conscientious officials who were doing their duty by the country, and also as enemies of the hated Progressive Party. These considerations decided the future attitude of the old King who, himself utterly disinterested, kept the welfare of Bavaria, the Monarchy, and of his grandson constantly before his gaze. It was easier for him than for any of the others to arrive at an understanding of Ludwig II's exalted thought. After the performance of 'Tristan' the young King was convinced that Wagner was a god in the realms of art. If everyone opposed him, 'Ludwig II would defy the whole world, show his courage and keep only the one great object before his eyes.'

'You animate me,' Wagner for his part assured his royal Maecenas, 'you are my life, my eye, my brain and my heart. I belong to you only, eternally and unalterably.'¹

¹ Richard Wagner to Ludwig II, Munich, 26th August, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/165.

King Ludwig I felt he had done his duty and given his grandson advice; more he could not do. It now lay with the King to act and to abide by the consequences. On 17th June, 1865, the old King took up his summer residence, first at Berchtesgaden and then at his beloved Castle Leopoldskron near Salzburg. But in order to remain in touch with everything in Munich he had instructed Pfistermeister and von Hüther, Secretary of the Treasury, to send him written reports on everything that took place. The Court Treasurer as well as the Cabinet Secretary had complained to Ludwig I with regard to the 'enormous disbursements' into which Wagner led the young King. Von Hüther reported in great excitement that the poet-composer, according to his contract, had received 30,000 gulden for his composition of the *Nibelungenring* and that the work was to be completed in three years' time. 'The performance of "Tristan and Isolde" cost nearly 30,000 gulden,' the official reported; 'the takings were not large. Neither this opera nor the "Flying Dutchman", I am assured by *Hofrat* Hofmann,¹ has been purchased.'² King Ludwig I, however, was less horrified than the secretary had expected. He understood only too well how easy it was to spend money on art—naturally, he realized this better than the treasurers, who only tried to economize in the interests of the Royal purse and who could not realize that in some cases economy might be extravagance.

In the meantime, the young King remained hidden in the forests at his Castle of Hohenschwangau. He intended to remain there until far into the winter. He was more enthusiastic than ever about Wagner and inspired with a feeling of loving friendship for him: 'Yes, I will remain true to you with my last breath. I will surround you with my most powerful protection. I swear that to you once more.'³ The young King now dreamed of building a street in Munich as his father and grandfather had done before him; it was to pass the Palace by way of the Castle Garden down to the River Isar and from there a bridge was to lead to an ideal theatre which should form the culminating point on terraces built on the high ground across the river. Semper was chosen to build this proud edifice in which Richard Wagner's works should delight the world and immortalize his name.

¹ Julius von Hofmann, Court Secretary to Ludwig II.

² Hüther to Ludwig I, Munich, 14th July, 1865. Munich H.A.

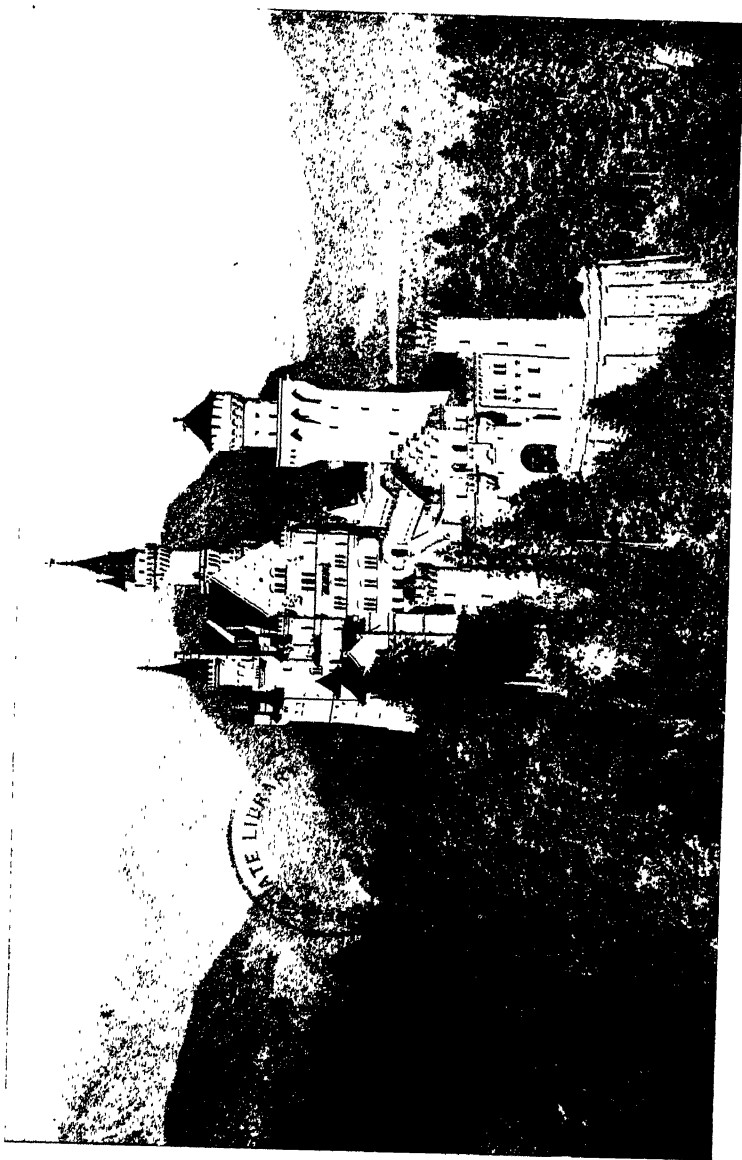
³ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Hohenschwangau, 30th August, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/168.

'Ardently loved divine friend!' the King cried to Richard Wagner. 'I see the street crowned by the magnificent building of the future . . . the people are streaming to see the *Nibelungen* and *Parsifal*. All prejudice has disappeared, admiration and intense joy fill them; all men have become brothers. . . . Don't you see it, my friend, can't you see it? Oh, the blind masses who cannot comprehend the significance of these works.'¹ The whole world might rage against Ludwig II; hidden away in his castle in the woods he heard and saw nothing. There he could convince himself: 'Now I know for certain; we shall be victorious.' And the young King did not realize that by his very absence he gave his opponents in the town the opportunity of fanning the flames of hostility against this man who meant everything to him.

Ludwig I had in the meantime returned to Munich. He loved to visit his old friends, and on these occasions the increasing enmity against Richard Wagner was often discussed. That grieved Ludwig I. He had no wish to intervene in the matter. The cold weather was approaching and he wished to go to Italy, but the news from Rome stated that an outbreak of cholera was feared. In October the King, therefore, leased a villa in Nice, where he intended to go towards the end of the month. He was strongly opposed to the young King's total seclusion, which was so widely condemned in Munich. The Ministers, including the British Minister, reported to their Governments that Ludwig II took long rides, chiefly at night, occupied himself only with music and poetry, and seldom saw his Ministers, so that the affairs of State were really carried on through the medium of the Cabinet Secretary. Wagner, who did not live such a secluded life as the King, saw the storm rolling up and suffered under the hostility which he felt all around him. 'It is made so difficult, so very difficult for us, my wonderful friend!' he complained to the young King.

Ludwig II had just returned from a trip to Switzerland to visit the places mentioned in the Tell legend, and sat down at once to answer Wagner's letter. The composer had heard that it had been decided in Munich to draw Ludwig I into the general agitation against his friendship with the young King, and believed that the latter had received a letter of sharp reproof from his grandfather. This assumption may be attributed to the fact that the old

¹ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Katzenalpe, 16th September, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/182.



HOHENSCHWANGAU CASTLE.

gentleman, who had no idea how deep was the hatred of the chief Ministers von der Pfordten and Pfistermeister to Richard Wagner, was anxious to keep these men in office and used his influence with his grandson in this direction. The two officials were quite determined to do their utmost to secure the removal of the composer from the King's entourage, for they believed that he prejudiced the King against them and wished to interfere in matters of State. They did not realize that Wagner's enmity to them dated back to their original attitude towards him. This clever and unpretentious man flew into a passion and a fight to the death broke out between the two sides for the young King, who was consequently now exposed to the deepest emotional crises.

The Ministers and Cabinet Secretary were successful in stirring up dissension amongst the aristocracy and priests, populace and royal family. The results were painfully and increasingly felt by the two men so closely united in the interests of art. Ludwig II was devoted heart and soul to his 'dearly loved' artist: 'Like a hero I will fight and overcome all obstacles. . . . They shall never separate us. . . . My admiration and love for you are boundless! Again I swear to be loyal to you until death. Eternally your ardent Ludwig.'¹

At this time the King made a concession to his grandfather in the dismissal of the liberal Minister of the Interior. This was the result of the first Ludwig's warning that no prerogatives of the Crown should be relinquished, for on this point the second Ludwig was just as sensitive and feared a too strong liberal influence. But to Wagner he gave such abundant assurances of unbounded devotion that the composer was convinced that the slightest encounter would lead to the dismissal of Pfistermeister and Pfordten, 'Pfi and Pfo,' and the appointment of a man friendly to Wagner as a kind of Art Secretary, who would carry out all their wishes. He expected complete success, for what could be more convincing than the King's words: 'When I am with you, I cannot speak, words fail me and I tremble with joy?''² This naturally gave the composer the impression that he could do anything and that nothing could stop him. He himself had but one thought: to obtain peace and assistance for his creative work which was struggling to find expression, and to remove all obstacles

¹ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Hohenschwangau, 2nd November, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/204.

² Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, 15th November, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/212.

which might interrupt his great projects. He had no understanding for the work of statesmen who did not realize what marvellous lasting wealth was stored in the brain of a Titan of development. Wagner decided to proceed to the attack and influence the King to dismiss these Ministers. The composer would then watch how the King, 'his Siegfried, his wonderful Siegfried, would deal in the wood with the two villains, Fafner, the parricide, and Mime, the cunning dwarf. These were his pseudonyms for the Cabinet Secretary von Pfistermeister and the Treasurer von Hofmann. But the composer did not expect too much, 'for,' he said to his Maecenas, 'we are here dealing with people . . . to whom our inmost feelings . . . will always be incomprehensible.'¹

It was, however, not so easy to persuade Ludwig II to take such strong measures. Although he declared that Pfistermeister was 'an insignificant and unintelligent man', he did not consider the time had come to dismiss him and the other Ministers. 'We love each other, the powers of darkness recoil from our strong armour,' he wrote to Wagner. 'It is impossible to dismiss the Cabinet at present, but whatever is possible shall be done.'² Richard Wagner did not give in. He repeated his demands. 'My King! Swiftly and firmly.'³ To encourage the King, Wagner had an article published in the *Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten* of 29th November, 1865, which closed with the words: 'I venture to assert that with the dismissal of two or three persons who do not enjoy in any way the respect of the Bavarian people, the King and the nation would be freed at one fell swoop from these tiresome agitations.'

Ludwig I had left Munich the day this article appeared. Attempts had been made to induce him to take a prominent place in the struggle against Richard Wagner, but he refused as he did not wish to belong to those who forced their will on a King. His departure relieved him from taking up any definite attitude; but he had no idea that the composer himself was precipitating the outbreak of the storm gathering about his head.

Wagner's article in the paper was extremely indiscreet and gave his enemies the desired handle against him, as they were

¹ Richard Wagner to Ludwig II, Munich, 26th November, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/228.

² Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Hohenschwangau, 27th November, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/230.

³ Richard Wagner to Ludwig II, Munich, 27th November, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/232.

enabled to accuse him of public interference in affairs of State. How did this 'greedy exploiter of the royal treasury', this 'notorious revolutionary musician', this 'second edition of Lola Montez', dare to interfere? The entire Press was let loose upon him, and von der Pfordten took the offensive. On 1st March, regardless of all consideration, he faced the King with a choice between duty and ideals.

King Ludwig II was deeply offended at von der Pfordten's action, and continued to support Wagner, although he was forced to admit that his action had been direct interference by a private person in the affairs of State, and he felt unable to dismiss Ministers who were attacked only by Wagner and the hated Progressive Party, against the will of the remainder. 'O my friend, how difficult life is made for us!' Ludwig II wrote to Wagner. 'Let us withdraw from the outside world; it does not understand us.'¹

On the 6th December the King returned to the Palace from Hohenschwangau. With horror he read the indignant articles in the Press. What harm the friend he admired so greatly had brought upon himself by his own action! A Ministerial Council demonstrated the danger of a man of Wagner's reputation having any influence on the government of the country. The Archbishop of Munich, the Queen-mother, and his great-uncle, Prince Karl, all brought their influence to bear on Ludwig II. The young King was forced to submit, and with a heavy heart and real sorrow he requested Wagner to leave Bavaria for six months, particularly as under such conditions it would be impossible for him to find peace and quiet for his creative work. But he wrote at the same time: 'Believe me—I had to act like this. My love to you remains unchanged. . . . There was no other way. Do not doubt the loyalty of your best friend. . . .'² Words cannot alleviate the pain which lacerates my heart . . . for the sake of securing peace for you I had to do this. Do not misunderstand me, not even for a moment—that would be real torment for me. . . .'³ Faithful unto death, Your Ludwig.'⁴

¹ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Hohenschwangau, 3rd December, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/232.

² Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Munich, 7th December, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/237.

³ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Munich, 8th December, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/238.

⁴ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Hohenschwangau, 7th December, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/237.

The King had yielded, and for the moment the Ministers and the *Sekretariat* were victorious. Wagner left Munich at dawn on the morning of 10th December to seek refuge in Switzerland, just as Lola Montez had done years before. The way in which history appeared to repeat the events of 1848 was astounding. Then Lola Montez seemed to have given Ludwig I a magic potion and now Wagner seemed to have done the same with the King. Now, as then, everybody united to declare the King's favourite a spawn of hell. Now, as then, an address was presented to the King, and the police declared that they could no longer guarantee Wagner's safety. The only difference lay in the person concerned. This time it happened to be a genius—a gifted, memorable figure which could not be torn out of Ludwig II's heart, for no proofs of shallowness and frivolity were forthcoming as had been the case with the dancer. And therefore his banishment could not be like the other—an episode with lasting results for the person of the King only—but one which would be of far-reaching effect in the future.

With mixed feelings Ludwig I, on his journey, heard the news of Wagner's exile. Pfistermeister had instructed Hüther to inform the King that the composer had recently cost the young King about 190,000 gulden. 'The master-stroke of the intrigue, always to bring in the miserable economic problem,' as Wagner declared, did not fail to have its effect.¹ Even the old King found this sum enormous, but he felt that the Monarchy had again suffered a defeat with which he was the more able to sympathize as he still suffered from the smart of his own discomfiture. But Ludwig I told himself: 'I am an old man and more or less removed from these struggles. If the Crown suffers injury I will lift up my voice. . . . Then the old King received the news that his granddaughter, Maria Theresia, who was married to the Duke of Württemberg, had given birth to a son; this meant that he was a great-grandfather. He considered that this justified him now in keeping away from the storms of life. But he was quite prepared to help his grandson with advice, the more so because he realized that only in certain respects was the young man equal to the tremendous demands made upon a King, and that in other equally important matters he was totally unfitted for them. Ludwig II felt the absence of the composer bitterly;

¹ Richard Wagner to August Röckel, Berne, 12th December, 1865. *Correspondence*, IV/112.

it was as though his heart had been torn from his breast. Richard Wagner seemed to be able to adapt himself to the new situation, but both he and Ludwig II could scarcely wait for the moment of their revenge on 'Pfi' and 'Pfo' and their supporters. It was only most annoying that these people had succeeded in winning over his grandfather. He had consideration for the old man because he loved and respected him and for that reason Wagner's enemies were temporarily safe.

Ludwig II had great respect for the experience of his grandfather, particularly as he himself felt uncertain in the political sphere. He also saw that great numbers of people in the country held the same opinions.¹ Perhaps, he thought, it might be possible to induce Wagner to return and prevail upon the Ministers to agree. The attempt must be made, and the King therefore wrote to Wagner, whom he valued above all things: 'I beg you to come back here. . . . Dearly loved, adored one, Lord of my life! Agree to return! Believe me, I shall die otherwise! The removal of certain persons is at present impossible, but nevertheless here, where beats the warm admiring heart of a friend, you can find the peace you require. Is it never to be possible for the great intellectuals to live happily and peacefully, admired by their fellow-men whom they inspire? And you, who shine like a sun in never ceasing splendour, even surpassing Shakespeare and Beethoven, who unite the art of both and raise it to an undreamed-of perfection, you whose name will resound through a thousand years arousing mankind to fiery enthusiasm . . . shall you not attain to everything you desire?'²

Wagner was of a different opinion. His nerves could not stand a repetition of the scenes he had experienced in Munich. 'No,' he declared, 'to drive to-day with the King in state—and to-morrow to be torn to pieces by the priests whilst all I want is to be allowed to work in peace—that would be foolishness.'³ As long as such Ministers ruled in Munich he could not agree to the King's desire and return. But it was becoming increasingly difficult to dismiss them, for clouds were gathering on the political horizon which threatened Bavaria with decisions

¹ Ludwig II to Frau Cosima von Bülow, Munich, 5th March, 1866. *Correspondence*, I/263.

² Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Munich, 28th January, 1866. *Correspondence*, I/290.

³ Richard Wagner to Mathilde Maier, 17th December, 1865. *Correspondence*, I/250.

of the utmost importance. When Bismarck had secured the adherence of Italy he exploited this situation to exclude Austria from predominance in Germany by force of arms (as it was not possible to do so by peaceful methods). Prussia's policy became steadily more aggressive. This was watched with anxiety in Bavaria. No one there wanted war, least of all Ludwig II—but neither did his grandfather nor the chief Minister, von der Pfordten—whether with Prussia against Austria or vice versa. Whichever won, Bavaria was in danger of losing much of her prestige. The Austrian Minister in Munich watched developments carefully.

The situation became more critical, but Ludwig II refused to take any notice of it. His one desire was to get Wagner back. He wrote: 'Our faithful friendship, which nothing can shake, and our deep love will yet work miracles upon earth. . . .'¹ When the Ministers, as in duty bound, continued to discuss the situation, the young King declared: 'I do not want war,' and he refused to hear anything about it. Even Wagner considered that his patron was going too far. 'An inconceivably senseless education has succeeded,' the composer wrote, describing the King,² 'in arousing in the youth a deep-seated and insuperable dislike of serious preoccupation with affairs of State, which he therefore leaves, almost with disgust, to . . . existing officials to carry out according to the existing routine, and at the same time he despises all who participate therein. He finds his family and his whole Court distasteful, the army and everything to do with it hateful, the aristocracy ridiculous and the masses despicable; he is quite lucid and unprejudiced about the priests, and as regards religion is serious and devout. . . .' Wagner also wished for a reunited Germany, and did not wish to see it fall into two halves, a Prussian and an Austrian half. 'Bavaria could be the cement, the heart of this union,' the composer declared.³ 'Then Germany would count for something and be mighty. The German realizes himself, and we will show the world what it means to be German and what the German spirit is like. . . .' That was the one point of agreement between all parties, the two Kings, the young and old, the persecuted composer and also Pfordten.

¹ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Munich, 18th February, 1866. *Correspondence*, I/302.

² Richard Wagner to Constantin Frantz, Geneva, 19th March, 1866. *Correspondence*, IV/133.

³ Richard Wagner to Ludwig II, Lucerne, 25th April, 1867. *Correspondence*, II/167.

The young King admonished Pfordten daily to find some means of maintaining peace.¹ There was naturally no thought of dismissing any Ministers in these difficult times and Ludwig II only now answered his grandfather's letter of 4th January, advising him to keep this Minister: 'I have carefully studied the contents of this instructive letter, and have decided to read it over again very often so that it is well impressed on my mind and that I may act accordingly.'²

The old King, meanwhile, had also not been idle. He had addressed himself directly to the King of Prussia: 'Your Majesty inspired me with confidence, with great confidence, when I saw Your Majesty; I therefore address myself to Your Majesty and express my views frankly. . . . An unjust war is a horrible thing in this world, but the responsibility for it is still more horrible. War between Austria and Prussia is fraught with incalculable consequences and might easily have the most disastrous ones. Your Majesty, whose name may shine with renown in history, would not wish it to be said that King Wilhelm's desire for expansion plunged the German Fatherland into ruin. These words come from a well-meaning heart. With the sincerest wish that peace may be maintained, Your Majesty's devoted Ludwig I.'³

Relations between Austria and Prussia had now become so tense that military preparations were being made in both countries and in Italy, and it seemed as if the whole world spoke of nothing but war. King Ludwig could not bear to remain in Nice any longer. He considered that in these difficult times his place was in his own country, particularly as he was told on all sides of the peculiar attitude of his grandson and of the latter's complete indifference to the important questions which had arisen. On 8th May Prussia mobilized her whole army, and the Austrian Minister in Munich became more bellicose than ever.

The news from Berlin had given Pfordten cause for thought. If Prussia were mobilizing, Bavaria must do likewise, although her army had been seriously neglected by both the first and second Ludwig and could not command any great respect. A nation which could not rely on the support of its armed forces was not qualified to speak at the Conference table. The fear of being overrun by Prussia caused the Government to decide upon

¹ *Graf Blome to Mensdorff, Munich, 30th April, 1866. Vienna St.A.*

² *Ludwig II to Ludwig I, Munich, 3rd May, 1866. Munich H.A.*

³ *Ludwig I to King Wilhelm of Prussia, Nice, 30th April, 1866. Brandenburg-Prussian H.A., Berlin.*

an immediate mobilization of the Bavarian Army. Only with the greatest difficulty had it been possible to obtain the King's signature. Immediately afterwards he left the town and went to Schloss Berg, where he pondered how he could see Richard Wagner again, discuss everything with him, and unburden his heart to him. The whole trouble of finding a way out of the difficult situation devolved upon Pfordten. His chief efforts were devoted to urging the bellicose Austrian Minister to moderation. Ludwig I had arrived in Munich on 16th May, and had immediately sought out Pfordten, and counselled him in a friendly fashion in Austria's favour, advising him to warn that country only against 'spontaneous attacks'. Perhaps, thought the King, war might still be averted. He sent for Count Blome and told him: 'Do not attack. Whatever you do, do not attack: and do not sacrifice the Rhine (in order to obtain possible help from France). Not that!' Ludwig blamed Bismarck and Cavour and also Wilhelm's weakness for all that was happening, referring to the two Statesmen as 'rogues' who were forcing their kings to an incalculable war.¹

Everything that King Ludwig I heard about his grandson made him realize how necessary had been his return at this particular juncture. Even he had been unable to penetrate Berg. Ludwig II had made all sorts of excuses to prevent a personal visit. Although the old King was rather apprehensive he had no idea how desperate the young King's condition had become. This, however, is indicated by the telegram Ludwig II sent Richard Wagner on 15th May: 'If it is the desire and will of my dear one, I will with pleasure renounce the crown and the empty pomp and will join him, never more to be separated from him.'²

The King did not wish to be disturbed in what was to him, in spite of his kingship, the one really important matter in life—the idolization of Richard Wagner and his art. Ludwig I was all the more active in consequence. On 30th April he had written to Berlin, and now he approached his sister, Empress Karoline Auguste, entreating her at all costs to prevent an attack by Austria. If the Germans were in a weakened condition after fighting each other, there was a great danger that Napoleon III would seize the left bank of the Rhine.³ Then he wrote a second

¹ Graf Blome to Graf Mensdorff, private, Munich, 20th May, 1866. Vienna St.A.

² Telegram from Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Starnberg, 15th May, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/34.

³ Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, III/417.

letter to the King of Prussia, more urgent and more emphatic than the first, expressing the same anxiety: 'I recommend the matter to the consideration of the son of the most whole-hearted German woman. Do not let Prussia destroy the thing to which she has contributed the major part. I beg your Majesty to maintain peace. In the repetition of this ardent wish, Your Majesty's devoted Ludwig.'¹

The step taken by the young King at this difficult time could not fail to make the most devastating impression upon anyone who did not realize the state of his mind. Ludwig II could no longer restrain his longing for Wagner, and on 22nd May, Wagner's birthday, he left Schloss Berg by stealth and drove straight to Tribschen in Switzerland to visit his friend. To keep up the deception, he telegraphed his good wishes to the composer in the early morning and then departed, taking only ten gulden with him. Not until he reached Switzerland did the King telegraph for money and then he spent two days in Richard Wagner's house. The composer endeavoured to calm the enthusiastic young King as far as possible, advised him to do all he could to keep Bavaria neutral, to occupy himself more with affairs of State, and personally to open the *Landtag*—proposals which aroused the King's intense opposition.

On his return to Berg, the young King was informed of the impression his journey, undertaken at such a time of crisis, had made upon the country. Von der Pfordten, who continued to detest war as much as both the Kings, considered he must take sides with those who were in favour of preserving the German Confederation, which in this case meant Austria. Prussia took the offensive, violating the rights of the Confederation, and consequently the Minister was forced, however unwillingly, into the Austrian camp.

King Ludwig I watched all these events with great anxiety. As his grandson, the King, was never visible, while Ludwig I was often to be seen in the streets of Munich and on other occasions in public, he was warmly greeted by all—a fact which was particularly pleasing to him.

Events now began to move. Bismarck had prevailed with his royal master, the armies were marshalled, and Prussia asked the neighbouring States to define their attitude. Upon refusal to do

¹ Ludwig I to King Wilhelm of Prussia, Munich, 25th May, 1866. Archives of the Berlin Foreign Office.

so, Prussia declared war on the 15th June and on the 16th invaded Hanover. Bavaria and Saxony declared for Austria, and the fratricidal war broke out in Germany. All this took place whilst King Ludwig II had retired with his aide-de-camp to the *Roseninsel* (Isle of Roses) in the middle of the Starnberg Lake, to pass the 'anniversary of the memorable performance of "Tristan" in this quiet idyllic spot, in refreshing calm and blissful peace, far from the bustle of life.'¹ The King continued to exclaim: 'I do not want war. I want peace and quiet.' Indignantly Blome reported: 'Since the 10th June the King has been on the *Roseninsel* where he lets off fireworks. For three days no one has been able to speak to him, and this at a moment when peace or war hang in the balance. People are beginning to believe that the King is mentally deranged.'² When Ludwig II, at the urgent requests of his grandfather and Pfordten, was prevailed upon to return to Munich, he telegraphed to Wagner: 'O sad and lamentable time! O this unholy and sinister dispute which turns Germany's will against Germany.'³

Ludwig I was deeply affected by the development which led to war and at last had to acknowledge to himself: 'I have done everything to prevent it, but I have not been successful. What more remains to be done? I will retain my cheerful spirits. Whatever happens I must not allow myself to become bitter, but accept what God sends me.' 'In the year 1848,' the King wrote to his son Otto, 'when I abdicated, I composed the following verse of four lines as a reminder to myself:

'What is, will remain;
You should refrain
From useless grief and foolish strife
Would you not cripple all your life.'⁴

King Ludwig was now extremely angry with Prussia and Bismarck. He regarded both as having stirred up a fratricidal war which would only bring unspeakable misery to Germany. He was anxious for the unity of Germany but not for the predominance of North Germany, and regarded Austria, which had been attacked, as the country which would maintain the German Confederation

¹ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, *Roseninsel*, 13th June, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/61.

² *Graf Blome to Graf Mensdorff*, private, Munich, 13th and 14th June, 1866. Vienna State Archives.

³ Telegram from Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, *Starnberg*, 17th June, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/63.

⁴ Ludwig I to King Otto of Greece, Munich, 15th June, 1866. Munich H.A.

and thereby the outward unity of Germany in the face of France. The old King regarded Austria as 'Germany's *Hort*'¹ (place of refuge) and had no idea how much Vienna desired an alliance with France against Prussia.

In spite of all these excitements, the health of the eighty-year-old King was good. Now that the die was cast and war was taking its course, the King retired to Aschaffenburg, as there was nothing left for him or for his grandson to do but to await developments. The trusty Hüther was commanded to continue his watch and to send in regular reports on everything that happened. Ludwig I advised Pfistermeister to 'hold out' at his post, but he himself was further influenced in an anti-Wagner attitude by those surrounding the Minister. Ludwig's *penchant* for economy and a well-ordered administration was well known, and so stress was laid on the great expense of the royal friendship with Wagner.²

The campaign of the isolated Bavarians and other South German Corps was soon at an end. Ludwig I's pleasure when his son-in-law, Archduke Albrecht, proved himself at Custozza worthy to be the descendant of the conqueror of Aspern, was short-lived. Events in Bohemia, which culminated in the defeat of the Austrians at Königgrätz on 3rd July, soon put an end to the fighting in South Germany. Without any suspicion of what was taking place, Ludwig I dined on the day of the battle with a South German Prince whose country was also engaged in the war against Prussia. The menu during the time of war and particularly on the day of the battle was as abundant and elaborate as if peace reigned supreme and no murderous and decisive battle were in progress.³

The news of the defeat of Königgrätz burst in upon this idyll of the South German Princes, and a veritable panic ensued. They already envisaged an occupation of Munich. 'Secretly all State treasure is being packed so that it can be transported to Switzerland in case of emergency,' Hüther reported on the 13th July, 1866. This faithful servant intended to do the same with the masterpieces of the Italian School, which were the old King's

¹ Poem to Austria in the first half of June, 1866. Munich H.A.

² Hüther to King Ludwig I, Munich, 30th June, 1866. Munich H.A.

³ Dinner at Schloss K., 3rd July, 1866. Noted by Ludwig I. Munich H.A. Chicken Broth; Meat Pastie; Trout à la hollandaise; Roast Beef, Cucumber Salad, Beans, and Potato Croquettes; Suprême of Game with Truffles; Chicken Roll à la flamande; Snipe with Green Salad; Cabinet Pudding with Sauce; Cherry Tart with Sauce; Vanilla and Punch Ices; Granada of Strawberries.

private property, but one valuable Perugino he intended to hide as it would not stand the journey.

In the meantime the Prussians had advanced towards Aschaffenburg, Ludwig I's residence. The King had to escape to the Palatinate and was only just able to transport his horses and silver there. It is not likely that these would have been touched, but it was generally believed that the Prussians would loot and destroy everything, so strongly was the prejudice against that race rooted in the South German countries.

In the peace negotiations Ludwig I endeavoured to avoid any cession of Bavarian territory. The course of events had also made a deep impression on Ludwig II. It was unfortunate that he who had never wished for war should be justified in his wish. Like his grandfather he now only saw the threatening predominance of the North and poured out his heart to Richard Wagner: 'If we come under Prussia's hegemony, I will go. I do not wish to be a phantom King without any power.'¹

Now, however, that the prestige of the Ministers had suffered such a terrible blow, Ludwig II hoped it would be easier to secure the return of Richard Wagner. 'I feel I must tell you,' the King wrote to Frau Cosima (Wagner), 'that it is impossible for me to be separated any longer from him who is my all. . . . Prepare the beloved man for my decision to lay down the Crown.'²

Wagner, however, opposed this step. He did not wish his august friend to be faint-hearted, he wished him to retain his position. 'A King should believe in himself or else he is not King,' he replied to his Maecenas.³ But, as for the Ministers, they should suffer for it,' he decided. The composer gave the young King 'decisive advice': 'You must not continue to rule with this Ministry and its adherents.'⁴

The greatest excitement prevailed in Munich. 'It would not be possible to describe to Your Majesty the panic which reigns since yesterday,' Hüther reported to Ludwig I. 'If the Prussians had been seen entering Munich I believe half the population would have fled.'⁵

¹ Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Munich, 18th July, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/73.

² Ludwig II to Cosima von Bülow, Munich, 21st July, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/74.

³ Richard Wagner to Ludwig II, Lucerne, 24th July, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/77.

⁴ Richard Wagner to Ludwig II, 27th July, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/82.

⁵ Secretary Hüther to Ludwig I, Munich, 1st August, 1866. Munich H.A.

Ludwig II, like his grandfather, now endeavoured to obtain the best treatment he could at the hands of the victorious and proud Prussians at the peace negotiations. In a letter to his great-uncle, the King in Berlin, he urged that Bavaria had not really waged war against Prussia but had merely taken up its stand on the principles of the Confederation and fulfilled its duties in this respect. The united efforts were successful in obtaining comparatively indulgent treatment. A small adjustment of the frontier and a moderate war indemnity made the re-establishment of good relations between victors and the vanquished very soon possible. The campaign closed with the Peace of Prague on the 23rd August, and King Ludwig I returned to Munich from the Palatinate. The results of the war were of no avail to Minister von der Pfordten and the powerful Cabinet Secretary. Everyone knew that the decision had been made by them and that they had decided, though possibly half-heartedly, in favour of the losing side. This made matters easy for Ludwig II if he wished to dismiss these Ministers. Only the warnings of his grandfather who, owing to his fear of revolutionary Ministers, still supported von der Pfordten, decided him to postpone his dismissal. In reality Ludwig II was less dissatisfied with the Minister's political activities than with his bitter opposition to Richard Wagner and his refusal to sanction his return. That was a matter of vital importance to the King.

The old King had had little time or opportunity, owing to the stirring times, for devoting himself to feminine society. This interest still held him even in his eightieth year. On one occasion Hüther described the trial of a very beautiful woman on a charge of theft. The public in the court were nearly all admirers of the woman and at the close the Public Prosecutor remarked: 'It appears that she has been guilty of the theft of men's hearts, but that is not forbidden in Bavaria.' When she was not convicted the whole court broke into cheers. This amused Ludwig greatly and he immediately asked the name of the beauty and of the Public Prosecutor.¹

The King continued to receive letter upon letter from Mariannina. She wrote about her animals, about the tragedy of a white peacock which had been eaten by a fox, and other little trifles of that nature. But she never failed to mention her unalterable affection for Ludwig whom she hoped soon to see again. He

¹ Hüther to Ludwig I, Munich, 24th February and 4th March, 1866. Munich H.A.

was still very susceptible to words of friendship and affection. His doctors advised Ludwig I to pass the winter in the south; he therefore decided to go to Rome and he held out prospects which delighted Mariannina of a visit in the spring of 1867 to the villa at Ascagnano situated high above the Tiber.

Before the old King left Munich he attempted once more to speak to Ludwig II, but the latter remained invisible even to his grandfather. The young King had dismissed the Cabinet Secretary von Pfistermeister in October on account of his irreconcilable enmity to Wagner, and he replaced him by *Staatsrat* von Neumayr, who had been recommended by the composer. He was also determined that as soon as his grandfather had gone south, he would make a change of Ministers if von der Pfordten refused to yield in the matter of Wagner. Therefore he was not anxious for another conversation with his grandfather, who held other views, and there was nothing left for the latter to do but to bid farewell to his grandson by letter.

On 3rd November the old King left for Rome. Scarcely had he arrived at the Villa Malta and received a tempestuous welcome from his artist friends, than he heard that the dismissal of von der Pfordten was imminent. It had not yet been made public, but Ludwig II had practically made up his mind. On the 20th October he told Frau von Bülow: 'The Cabinet question is now settled. I have found new Ministers . . . matters could not continue any longer with von der Pfordten: I am seriously thinking of Prince Hohenlohe.'¹ Full of anxiety, Ludwig I, who saw Jacobin Ministers being placed at the head of affairs and his grandson pushed aside, wrote to him: 'I entreat you to abstain from making changes. Hohenlohe's views are Prussian, not Bavarian, and most of his estates are in Prussia.'² Richard Wagner was not mentioned. His name did not appear in any single one of Ludwig I's letters to his grandson; these letters only expressed anxiety concerning the State and the maintenance of peace.

Pfordten was well aware that negotiations concerning his successor were taking place with Hohenlohe behind his back. On receipt of this news Ludwig I was uneasy and wrote to his grandson³: 'In our days monarchist-minded Ministers are valuable; do not remove them from their posts. I write this without their

¹ Ludwig II to Frau von Bülow, 20th October, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/97.

² Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Rome, 9th November, 1866. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Rome, 7th December, 1866. Munich H.A.

knowledge, but take it seriously to heart. Do not be deceived by flattery. Do not reject the great experience of your grandfather who only wishes your welfare. Beware lest it should be written in history: Ludwig II dug the grave of the monarchy in Bavaria.' Ludwig I again warned him against Hohenlohe: 'To return to the subject of demagogues and their revolutions in the name of progress,' the King continued, 'they know how to act as courtiers if they hope thereby to attain their object. The enemies of the monarchy decry all those who have the King's welfare at heart, and those who stand in their way; he who adopts their policy is lost.'¹ Very well, thought Ludwig II, Pfordten may remain if he yields in the matter of Wagner, not otherwise. In this way the decision was forced. On the 23rd December the young King requested von der Pfordten to state whether he had any objection to the return of Richard Wagner. The Minister replied to the messenger who brought the ultimatum: 'I consider Wagner the most evil person under the sun, who would ruin the young King, body and soul. For this reason I can only stay if His Majesty will promise me to give up Wagner definitely and entirely. This man and I could not be in the same place.'² That was enough for Ludwig II. Richard Wagner was for him the epitome of everything wonderful. He could not wait 'to regale himself with his conversation, to participate in his life, to be initiated into the mysteries of his sacred art'.³ He thanked his grandfather for his kind and friendly advice, for his continued interest in the welfare of his country and of his grandson, and declared he would always remember it and would give it his mature consideration; but in the matter of Wagner—there all consideration for his grandfather took flight. Von der Pfordten was dismissed: 'The worm is trodden under foot.'

Hohenlohe, who at one time had intimated to the King that the removal of Wagner was unnecessary, succeeded him. Ludwig II hoped and believed that there would be no difficulties in this connection, and this made him forget all his grandfather's advice and cast discretion to the winds. In wild anticipation of seeing Richard Wagner, the King wrote to Frau von Bülow: 'It is impossible for me to describe to you the thrills of delight that fill my soul: I am in ecstasy at the news of the arrival of the one and

¹ Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Rome, 21st December, 1866. Munich H.A.

² From Pfordten's own account, which Hüther passed on to Ludwig I on 23rd December, 1866. Munich H.A.

³ Ludwig II to Frau von Bülow, 30th December, 1866. *Correspondence*, II/123.

only precious soul; I weep, I rejoice! He is the lord of my life; my life is his, not mine.¹ But the composer's return could not be arranged quite so quickly. Hohenlohe was less enthusiastic about him than Ludwig believed. Even if he considered that there would be no great misfortune in allowing the composer to return later on, he had no intention of forming a Wagner Ministry on the lines of the Lola Ministry of former days.²

The young King felt rather conscience-stricken with regard to Ludwig I. The King was prepared to apply the brake if Hohenlohe really intended to bring Bavaria under Prussian domination for, like his grandfather, he was intent on complete and undiminished sovereignty.

Ludwig I had to make the best of the irrevocable fact. There was nothing else for him to do: 'It is gratifying to hear,' he replied, 'that Hohenlohe is not attempting to draw Bavaria into the North German Confederation. . . . A Minister should not have a programme, he should merely follow the directions of his King. If he is of the opinion that these are not in conformity with the Constitution, he should resign his post.'³

Whilst the old King was living quietly in the Villa Malta in Rome, surrounded by his artists, he unexpectedly received a letter from Ludwig II informing him of his engagement on the 22nd January to the Duchess Sophie in Bavaria, sister of the Empress Elisabeth, whose beauty Ludwig II had always admired. Ludwig had constantly been advised to marry as it was thought it might have a steadying effect upon him and—last but not least—the family of the bride had always intervened on behalf of Wagner and had shared the King's admiration for the composer. That decided the matter. Sophie was given clearly to understand that she came second: 'First comes Wagner, then you,' her fiancé told her. 'Richard Wagner is, as you know, the lord of my life.'⁴ The venerable King was greatly pleased at the engagement.

During an expedition to Pompeii Ludwig wrote a verse to the newly affianced couple and sent it to his grandson. He was moved to do this by a beautiful fresco of Adonis and Aphrodite which was to be seen in one of the houses which had been excavated.

¹ Ludwig II to Frau von Bülow, 5th January, 1867. *Correspondence*, II/126.

² See also the account in Karl Alexander von Müller's *Bayern im Jahre 1866 und die Berufung des Fürsten Hohenlohe*, Munich-Berlin, 1909. Müller did not know of Hüther's letter of 23rd December, to Ludwig I. P. 171.

³ Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Rome, 22nd January, 1867. Munich H.A.

⁴ Georg Jacob Wolf, *König Ludwig II. und seine Welt*, Munich, 1926, p. 118

The King was interested not only in the wonderful statutes, paintings, and other examples of Roman art, but also in the great human tragedy entailed in the sudden destruction of a rich and prosperous town. He never tired of wandering through the streets of Pompeii and looking at the squares, temples, theatres, and baths. Deeply moved, he stood in front of the fossilized corpses which even to-day testify to the horror of the catastrophe. It was feared that he would overtax his physical strength, but he replied: 'Here in this old world I am young and do not feel my years.'¹

In March, 1867, Hüther reported that Richard Wagner had suddenly arrived in Munich and was supposed to have given the King his solemn word of honour not to refer to politics in any way, and to devote himself solely and exclusively to art. Ludwig II had announced this through his Cabinet Secretary, so that the latter might inform his grandfather and in that way remove all cause for anxiety.² Later, the young King gave repeated and detailed assurances through the same channel that he would not permit Wagner to have the slightest influence in politics and would keep him within the limits of his art. These statements were the more reassuring to the old King as he heard soon³ afterwards that Wagner had only gone to Munich for a short time in order to hand over his opera 'The Meistersinger', which he had composed in the stirring times of 1866. This was the opera which the '*Bayrischer Kurier*', referring both to libretto and music, described as 'monstrous': 'Even in reading it one has the impression that one is listening to an immense number of un-oiled wagons driving over a log paved road.'⁴

Ludwig I was now able to carry out the programme of his travels with a calmer mind. Mariannina Waddington had frequently written to him in Rome and had often used words which really moved him: 'What a wonderful friend you are! I often think about it and come to the conclusion that you are a rare, in fact, an unique being. I cannot compare you with anyone.'⁵

In letter No. 2900 Ludwig announced that he would arrive at Ascagnano about the end of the month. On the 23rd April, 1867, the day before his departure, the King visited the Colosseum,

¹ Sepp, *Ludwig I.*, p. 915.

² Hüther to Ludwig I, Munich, 21st March, 1867. Munich H.A.

³ Hüther to Ludwig I, 12th March, 1867. Munich H.A.

⁴ Röckl, *Ludwig II. und Richard Wagner*, II/51.

⁵ Mariannina Waddington to Ludwig I, Perugia, 21st February, and Florence, 23rd February, 1867. Munich H.A.

which looked like an enchanted building in the moonlight, and on his return drove past the fountain of Trevi. According to an old superstition, anyone wishing to return to Rome must drink of its water. The King had never failed to do so, nor did he now, although he had a premonition that this would be the last time, and tears ran down his cheeks. He had attempted to do too much recently and sometimes his strength failed him, but the fire and freshness of his mind remained and spurred on his diminishing physical powers. When, however, Ludwig I did not feel as well as usual and the stiffness in his joints troubled him, as was the case in the last days of his stay in Rome, he thought of the inexorably approaching end. He would then visit his favourite works of art and the places he most loved and take a touching farewell of each one. When he stood on the terrace of the Villa Malta for the last time before his departure, enjoying the wonderful view over the Eternal City, he burst into tears as he had done the day before at the Fontana Trevi. Yet he could not forget his anxiety concerning the sovereignty of his House, although his political influence had gradually weakened and Ludwig II scarcely listened any longer to his grandfather's advice.

At the beginning of May the King was once more with his old friend at Colombella where her son, Marchese Luigi Florenzi, acted as host. Mariannina too was feeling the effects of the advancing years.

When Ludwig returned to Munich a delegation of officers from the 10th Austrian Cuirassier Regiment was awaiting him to congratulate him on his jubilee as Honorary Colonel of the Regiment. He heard with anxiety that his grandson remained in seclusion, what a difficult time his Ministers and *entourage* were experiencing with him, and how he continued to be full of admiration for Richard Wagner. Even his grandfather seldom succeeded in penetrating the self-imposed seclusion of the King.

Ludwig I passed the summer at Berchtesgaden and Schloss Leopoldskron, but his *joie de vivre* and his desire to participate in everything interesting and instructive induced him, in spite of his age, to travel to Paris in July to see the International Exhibition which had been arranged under Napoleon III. On the 12th the old King left for Paris, and shortly afterwards he was followed by his grandson, who also wished to see the exhibition of which such wonderful tales were told. After more than fifty-one years Ludwig returned to the city on the Seine, and on the 14th he paid

a visit to Napoleon III. He expected that the Emperor of the French would come half-way down the stairs to meet him, but as he remained standing at the top the King began a conversation with the men of the Centgarde who were lining the steps and this went on until Napoleon began to descend. Then he was satisfied and greeted the Emperor most cordially. He spoke bad Spanish with the Empress Eugénie, and was much amused when the French newspapers hailed him as a fellow-countryman because he had been born in Strasbourg.

The old King wandered about the Exhibition from morning to night without resting. He also visited the other museums and art galleries of the capital and did so much that he hopelessly overtired himself.

On his return to Salzburg, the King met his sister Karoline Auguste, who had chosen this town as her permanent residence. There he received the news of the sudden death of his son, the King of Greece, who at the age of 53 had died of measles after three days' illness in Bamberg, on the 26th July. With the death of this King, who had always hoped to return in triumph to Athens, his father's dream that his family would bring happiness to Greece vanished into space. No other member of the family was interested in becoming the ruler of that country, and the new King, placed on the throne by England, had in the meantime consolidated his position, so that there was no further question of Bavaria insisting on its right of succession in Greece.

On the 18th August, 1867, the French Emperor and Empress visited the Austrian Emperor and Empress in Salzburg; Ludwig I was also present. The news of the murder of Franz Joseph's brother in Queretaro cast a gloom over the visit. Napoleon III returned the King's recent visit to Paris by a visit to Leopoldskron, and a few days later the King celebrated his eighty-first birthday. The Catholic poet, Hippolyt Schaufert, wrote a poem to Ludwig in honour of this occasion. These verses asserted that this Monarch with his silvery hair had remained young in spirit and in his love for art. The King was extremely pleased and sent the man a gold medal, but could not resist adding: 'Your devotion means all the more to me because you do not know me personally, a fact I deduce from your statement that my hair is silver whereas it is still blond.'¹

Karoline Auguste asked Ludwig I if he knew why his grandson

¹ Sepp, *Ludwig I.*, p. 202.

had not yet married and had not even fixed the fate of the wedding. She had been approached by Vienna to make tactful inquiries, but her brother could give her no answer. He referred to the peculiar disposition of the young King, which had already caused many to declare that he was mentally deranged. That was by no means the case, however, he declared. But the news that reached Vienna from Munich stated the reverse. According to these reports the King's longing to be alone, his lonely, restless rides into the mountains at night and in the moonlight, and many other things were certainly not normal. The special performances of Wagner's operas and classical plays in a fully lighted but completely empty theatre were peculiar enough. The young King attended these alone and, except for the employees, not a single other person was allowed to be in the theatre.¹ The wedding was continually being postponed. Finally when Duchess Sophie's family insisted on a decision, Ludwig II broke off the engagement, saying he had, in the meantime, come to the conclusion that he could not marry and 'would be unutterably miserable and unhappy'² in such a life. He immediately informed his grandfather of this fact, and Ludwig I replied³: 'As you had this conviction . . . I am glad that you have been released from your promise.'

The old King then decided that he would again spend the winter at Nice after first paying another visit to the Paris Exhibition. Before his departure he called for a report on the exact state of his finances. He required many officials to cope even with the immense number of begging letters he received. For instance, from the 14th May to the 24th October, he received 7,181, of which 3,610 received favourable replies and necessitated the expenditure of over 100,000 gulden. This time he left Munich with more anxiety than usual. Richard Wagner, it was true, was only able to exert his influence from afar, but the old King increasingly feared the influence of the North on the Bavarian Monarchy. In addition, the reports concerning his grandson's abnormal symptoms were increasing in number. Ludwig II had again retired into seclusion and was not to be seen, so that his grandfather could only say good-bye to the remainder of the Royal Family.

¹ Secretary of Legation Zwierzina to *Graf* Beust, Munich, 28th September, 1867. Vienna St.A.

² Ludwig II to Richard Wagner, Hohenschwangau, 21st November, 1867. *Correspondence*, II/205.

³ Ludwig I to Ludwig II, Munich, 11th October, 1867. Munich H.A.

In Paris the King was on his feet all day long. The Emperor Francis Joseph was in Paris at the same time, and he was astonished at the vitality of this King of eighty-one. 'The Empress Eugénie frequently asks after you,' the Austrian Emperor wrote to his wife. 'At present, her chief occupation is fending off King Ludwig who has been here three days and still importunes her for a kiss. Otherwise, he is as merry as a sandboy. . . . She has arranged with Ludwig that to-day she will go up with him in a balloon which goes up daily from the Exhibition garden. . . .'¹ The Imperial Court was vastly entertained by the King who, as Princess Metternich remarked, always said straight out whatever came into his head. Napoleon's niece, Princess Mathilde, called him '*l'adorable vieillard*'.²

This stay in Paris with its constant round of festivities and visits wore out Ludwig. Undoubtedly the King attempted too much. He arrived at Nice at the end of October, tired out and with painful swellings on his legs. He took up his residence in a house overlooking the sea. In the good climate and with the rest which he was able to enjoy on the beautiful Riviera, his health rapidly improved. Although far from home, Ludwig followed the events in his own country with uneasiness. He had, it is true, always advocated a 'united Germany as far as the German tongue reached', but without the predominance of the North. While it was certainly a good thing that the unity of Germany was being pushed forward from that quarter and that particular attention was being paid to mutual economic interests, he did not wish Bavaria to become Prussian in the process. The old King did his utmost to preserve the privileges of the Bavarian Crown. The dignity and power of his grandson meant as much to him as if he were still King himself.

It was true that Ludwig I had not been able to shake off completely the characteristic feature of the Wittelsbach family, that 'striving after territorial independence and monarchical autocracy' as well as the fear of Prussia which was literally bred in the Bavarian. Nevertheless, he had done more for German unity than most of the other rulers of his country. Holding the opinions he did, he could not have acted otherwise. No prince could have been more German in word or deed, even if during these last days

¹ See Corti, *Elisabeth, die seltsame Frau*, Salzburg, 1934, p. 190 of German version.

² Princess Pauline de Metternich-Sándor, *Eclairs du passé* (1859-1870), Vienna, 1922.

of his life it seemed that the King insisted too much to his grandson on independence and self-reliance.

The old King was still unceasingly pre-occupied with the welfare of his country and the monarchy. He wished to preserve what his ardour had once created. Ludwig I could no longer keep up with the times, but even if his body sometimes failed, his intellect and his will kept him going. He continued to seek feminine society, accepted invitations, joined in the festivities, even *soirées dansantes*. Hardly had the King arrived in Nice, when he received a letter from Antonita Y., who was staying there, asking him to visit her. Now the King's weakened condition really troubled him. He wished to continue as if he were still young, strong, and well. The doctors frequently had to resort to strong restoratives to help the old gentleman, who simply refused to stay at home. He read a great deal and carried on an extensive correspondence: his friend in Italy wrote very often, asking after his health and advising him to be careful.

As time went on, however, the spirit could no longer triumph over the weakness of the body. In December the swelling in the feet and legs increased. Ludwig had difficulty in breathing, and his nights were restless; his sleep was disturbed by anxious, tormenting dreams. Nevertheless, until the middle of January, he took his daily drive or walk, went to afternoon parties and actually to balls. But by this time the swellings had considerably increased and extended to the upper part of his legs. When he took off his stockings they were wet with some kind of watery fluid, but he insisted on taking his drives and also, however painfully, took some exercise on foot.

His friend in Italy sent him an embroidered foot-muff accompanied by words of sympathy. Her last letter was numbered 1,902 and thanked the King for his 2,943rd letter. It was the conclusion of a remarkable sequence and showed how this friendship was maintained up to the last. Women remained the vital interest in the King's life until the end. The letters of his old friend in Italy and his conversations with the charming young Antonita sweetened the last days of his life. Richard Wagner in later years wrote to Ludwig II words that might well have come from the heart of Ludwig I: 'Ah, yes! if there were no women!!—yet, after all, they give us the greatest pleasure.'

¹ Richard Wagner to Ludwig II, Bayreuth, 7th July, 1879. *Correspondence*, II/156.

From the 11th February, 1868, the King's health grew steadily worse. On the 15th an incision had to be made in his leg in order to give some relief. There was a temporary improvement. On the 17th Ludwig could even write to Munich, but on the 18th a second operation was necessary. There was danger of gangrene setting in, and he was often unconscious. Early in the morning of the 26th, Mass was read in the adjoining room; devoutly the King received Communion and the blessing which the Holy Father had sent him through a personal delegate from Rome. Then the King realized his condition. Until then he had refused to believe that the end was approaching. But on the 27th February he said to the doctor: 'Do not think that I fear death. I have looked him in the face often enough in my lifetime.'¹

That evening the bandage was removed and the wound looked terrifying, an excretion mixed with a great deal of water showed the disintegration of the blood. Ludwig said to himself aloud: 'If I should die to-night, the King would be relieved of his sufferings.' Thus the monarch waited for death. He went to sleep, awoke some time after midnight and asked the time. Upon receiving the answer, he groaned: 'One o'clock, and I am not yet dead.' Then he became delirious and spoke softly to himself. The faithful General *Freiherr* von Jeetze watched by his master. Sorrowfully he awaited the relentless end. He could not restrain his tears.

King Ludwig woke up, saw the General weeping, and said hesitatingly: 'Tell me, Jeetze, do I look like a dying man? You may tell me plainly, I do not mind. I am only glad that I have no more pain and that I can die here in peace. Thank them all, all in Munich for me.'²

The priest was called; the two sons of the King also stood by his death-bed and the dying man received Extreme Unction. At thirty-five minutes past eight on the 29th of February the King's heart ceased to beat.

The Will was immediately opened. On the top lay a letter begging his sons Luitpold and Adalbert to make no further claims on the Greek throne if it were not legally adjudicated to them by that nation. In connection with a possible succession in Greece, the King referred to the change of religion necessitated thereby:

'To agree to such a condition would be dishonourable. Religion is not a garment to be changed according to circumstances or to

¹ Schönchen, p. 71.

² *Freiherr* von Jeetze, *König Ludwig I. in Algier*, from No. 45 of '*Der Sammler*'.

cause others to change. Never must temporal matters be preferred to eternal nor worldly advantage to the salvation of the soul. When I worked for the liberation of Greece and longed ardently for it, I had no thoughts for my House, and should no member of the same ever wear its Crown again, even so I wish Greece prosperity, I wish it expansion. . . .¹

'Beloved children, be devout, for therein lies all goodness, and without virtue there is no piety. . . . My sons, be *Teutsch*, *Teutsch* in word and deed; remain inseparable from Germany. . . . I thank my people, the Bavarians are excellent, genuine people. . . .'²

'The Valhalla and all that goes with it I leave to Germany, my great Fatherland. The Hall of Fame and all that goes with it to Bavaria, my own country. . . . My heart is to be taken, according to custom, to Alt-Oetting to be with those of the former rulers of my country. My remains are to be placed next to those of my Therese on her coffin. My wedding ring is to be buried with me on my corpse on the place where my heart was.'

'And now thanks, thanks to all who have loved me. Such love as I was given was more than I deserved. I die trusting in the mercy of God. His approval is the only thing that remains to us when we depart from this world. How transient, how vain is all else.'³

A rich and varied life had reached its end, a life full of conflict and victory, sorrow and joy, success and defeat. But taking all in all few people ever meant as well as King Ludwig I. He was German to the core, he loved Love and all beautiful things on earth, and there are three things a man can never love enough—his country, beautiful women, and art.

¹ Letter written by Ludwig I, dated 30th December, 1857, which was to be opened immediately before his Will was read. Munich H.A.

² Dated 21st March, 1844. Munich H.A.

³ Codicil to the Will of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, dated 29th December, 1857. Munich H.A.

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Confidential Prussian State Archives, Dahlem.
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Archives of His Excellence Rudolph Freiherr von der Tann, Schloss Tann.
Archives of Graf von Rechberg, Donzdorf.
Archives of Prince Joseph Wrede, Ellingen.
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Archives Benedetto Croces in Naples.
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE

LUDWIG I, KING OF BAVARIA

1786-1868

Married 10.10.1810 Therese of Saxony-Hildburghausen (1792-26.10.1854).

CHILDREN :

1. Maximilian II, King of Bavaria 1811-1864.
2. Mathilde, 1813-1862, married 1833 Grand Duke Ludwig III of Hesse and *bei Rhein*.
3. Otto I, King of Greece, 1815-1867 (King from 1833-1862, married 1836 Amalie of Oldenburg.
4. Theodelinde, 1816-1817.
5. Luitpold, 1821-1912, married 1844 Auguste of Tuscany, Prince Regent from 1886-1912.
6. Adelgunde, 1823-1914, married 1842 Franz V., Duke of Modena.
7. Hildegarde, 1825-1864, married 1844 Archduke Albrecht of Austria.
8. Alexandra, 1826-1875.
9. Adalbert, 1828-1875, married 1856 Donna Amalia Felipe Pilar.

KING MAXIMILIAN II OF BAVARIA

1811-1864. Reigned from 20th March, 1848, till 10th March, 1864
 Married 1842 Marie of Prussia, 1825-1889.

Ludwig II, King of Bavaria,
 1845-1886.

Otto,
 1848-1916.

KARL IV THEODOR, KURFÜRST 1742-1799

Reigned in Sulzbach 1733-1742; in the Palatinate 1743-1777; in Bavaria 1777-1799, as the Elector Max III Joseph of Bavaria died without issue. Thus the Palatinate and Bavaria were re-united after being separated for four and a half centuries.
 He married in 1742 Elisabeth of Sulzbach 1721-1794; in 1795 Archduchess Marie Leopoldine 1776-1848 (1804 Countess Arco auf Valley).

WITTELSBACH COLLATERAL LINE ZWEIBRÜCKEN-BIRKENFELD-BISCHWEILER

Karl II August ←— and his brother —→

MAXIMILIAN I. JOSEPH

born 27.5.1756, died 12.10.1825.

Duke of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld-Bischweiler
1746-1795

Duke of Zweibrücken 1795; Elector of *Pfalz-Bayern* 1799; first King of

Bavaria 1806.

Married Maria Amalia of Saxony.

1. Married December, 1775, Wilhelmine Auguste of Hesse-Darmstadt, 1765-1796.

CHILDREN :

1. Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, born Strasbourg 25.8.1786, died at Nice 29.2.1868,
2. Augusta, 1788-1851, married 1806 Eugène de Beauharnais (1781-1824), afterwards
Duke of Leuchtenberg; they had two sons and six daughters.

3. Amalia, 1790-1794.

4. Charlotte Auguste 1792-1873, married 1808 Crown Prince Wilhelm of Württemberg, divorced in 1814; married in 1816 the Emperor Francis I of Austria
(1768-1835); after this marriage she was known as Karoline Auguste.

5. Karl, 1795-1875.

2. Married in March, 1797, Karoline Friederike Wilhelmine of Baden 1776-1841.

CHILDREN :

First pair of Twins.

Elizabeth
1801-1873,
married 1823
King Friedrich
Wilhelm IV of
Prussia.
(1840-1861).

Amalie

1801-1877,
married 1822
King John of
Saxony
(1840-1873).

Second pair of Twins.

Sophie

1805-1872,
married 1824
Archduke
Franz Karl
of Austria.
(1836-1854).

Ludovika
called Luise
1802-1892,
married 1828
Duke Max of
Bavaria (1808-
1888), cousin to
his wife.

Francis Joseph
of
Austria,
1830-1916.

Ferd. Max
of
Mexico,
1832-1867.

Elizabeth,
born 24.12.1837,
died 10.9.1898,
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Emperor Francis
Joseph I of
Austria
(1830-1916).

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